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# Public Administration Review

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## IN THIS NUMBER

PHILIP YOUNG has been chairman of the U. S. Civil Service Commission and adviser to the President on personnel management since 1953. He was dean, Columbia University Graduate School of Business, 1948-53, and executive director of the American Assembly 1950-53. He has also spent four years with the federal government as an economist and eight years as an administrator of various agencies concerned with supplying war materials to the Armed Forces and Allied governments.

JAMES G. STOCKARD has been with the General Services Administration since 1953 and is now supervisory training officer, Personnel Division, Office of Management. He specialized in personnel management in the Department of Commerce, 1938-53. He has been awarded Incentive Awards for Superior Accomplishment by the Department of Commerce and the General Services Administration and in September, 1955, received the Certificate of Merit Award from the Training Officers Conference.

HENRY REINING, JR. has been professor, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, since 1947 and dean of the School since 1953. He was educational director, National Institute of Public Affairs, 1935-45; a consultant, U. S. Civil Service Commission, 1941-45; and assistant to executive director, Port of New York Authority, 1946-47. He is the author of *Who Should Choose the Civil Service* and *Cases of Public Personnel Administration*.

MORRIS JANOWITZ is a member of the Department of Sociology and research associate, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan. He has been a research analyst, Department of Justice; and a consultant to the Department of State and the Department of Defense on the utilization of social science and international communications research.

DEIL WRIGHT is a teaching fellow and graduate student, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan. He was research assistant, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1953-54; and instructor, Department of Public Administration, Wayne University, spring, 1955.

ALBERT LEPAWSKY has been professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, since 1953. He was a fiscal expert on the UN technical assistance mission to Bolivia in 1951, and since then has served as a consultant to the UN Technical Assistance Administration where he was a member of the Public Administration Committee responsible for drafting the report on *Standards and Techniques of Public Administration with special reference to Technical Assistance for Underdeveloped Countries*.

MAJ. GEN. THETUS C. ODOM has been deputy commander and commander of the San Antonio Air Materiel Area with headquarters at Kelly Air Force Base since 1953. Earlier, he was deputy comptroller, Air Materiel Command Headquarters, and assistant deputy to the commander for operations at AMC, Wright-Patterson AFB; and deputy assistant for programing in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, USAF Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

FRANK J. MCKENNA has been with the U. S. Railroad Retirement Board since 1937 and chief executive officer since 1950. He was chief claims examiner, chief administrative analyst, and chief executive assistant before assuming his present position.

ROBERT HORN has been assistant professor of political science, Stanford University, since 1953. He has taught at Harvard University and The University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1942. He is the author of *Groups and the Constitution* to be published by Stanford University Press in May.

VICTOR JONES has been professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, since September, 1955. He was on the faculties of Wesleyan University, Illinois Institute of Technology, and Howard College. He is the author of *Metro-politan Government* and co-author of *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment*.

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# The Federal Service Entrance Examination

By PHILIP YOUNG

*Chairman, United States Civil Service Commission*

ONE of the most compelling issues facing the federal government today is the need for providing career personnel who will be qualified to cope with the challenging problems of tomorrow. I sincerely believe that the very future of our country depends upon our ability to develop effective career leadership in government. A primary objective of the United States Civil Service Commission is therefore to bring into the career civil service of the federal government a sufficient number of highly qualified young men and women who can grow with the service and become the career executive, scientific, and professional leaders of the future.

The Federal Service Entrance Examination was conceived and developed for this purpose. At the end of December, 1955, a preliminary review of the results of the first test given under the new program indicated that our objective would be reached. In fact, all results so far have exceeded our expectations.

Of the 30,375 applicants who filed for the December 10 test, 17,572 actually took it. On the basis of our experience in other large examinations, we consider this a good score. About 42 per cent of the total group reporting for the morning examination returned in the afternoon for the additional tests for management intern. This is a far greater number than took the last examination of that type, the 1954 JMA.

It is well known that the JMA (Junior Management Assistant) examination was highly selective and produced each year a very superior group of eligibles. We are therefore extremely encouraged to find that preliminary comparisons between the upper scoring group of competitors for the management intern list and those rated eligible in similar tests in previous years show no appreciable difference in quality of competitors. Since all of these people took

the general test in the morning, we thus have assurance of high-quality eligibles at the top of the general list, from which the great bulk of the placements will be made.

A study of a sampling of papers drawn from all parts of the country leads us to believe that 13 per cent of the competitors for the general list (which of course is the more important of the two) will receive a rating of 90 or better, and an additional 15 per cent will fall between 85 and 90.

The fact that this examination will be open continuously for the receipt of applications is expected to be of major significance in maintaining the high quality of the eligible lists. The full effect cannot be assessed at this time, but enough applications have accumulated since the cutoff date for the first round of testing (November 18) to cause us to revise our plan for quarterly tests and schedule the second round for February. All whose applications are in by January 18 will be examined on February 10. More than 4,000 applications were received in the three weeks between November 18 and December 9, and between 8,000 and 10,000 were expected by January 18.

The continuance of this enthusiasm for the Federal Service Entrance Examination will impose a heavy burden on the commission's test-construction and examining operations, but it is a burden we are happy to assume because of the great benefits it implies for the whole federal service. Examinations do not create eligibles. They identify them. Our lists can never be of better quality than the people who choose to present themselves for consideration. A great number of applications from a group of generally high-caliber people will do more than any other one thing to insure the success of the program. A high rate of activity in exhausting and replenishing the lists

will further stimulate competition among the best qualified people.

Present indications are that we shall give the written tests more often than quarterly, since we want to examine as many senior students as possible before they graduate. One of the most valuable features of the program is that we can examine candidates at any convenient time and add them to the list. We mean to take full advantage of this feature.

The estimates we have received from the agencies show that 7,700 placements will be made from the FSEE registers during 1956. Of these, almost 1,600 will be in the Washington, D. C., area, 60 will be overseas, and about 6,100 will be distributed throughout the United States. The Departments of Defense, Agriculture, Interior, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Veterans' Administration account for 6,000 of the estimated placements; 25 other departments and agencies expect to fill jobs in varying numbers.

Because of declinations due to acceptance of other job offers, military service, change of interest, health, and many other reasons, we need more than two eligibles to consider in order to make one placement. Thus the simple mathematics of the situation will show that if the agencies fulfill their placement estimates, practically all available eligibles will be appointed and aggressive recruitment will have to be maintained in order to keep up with the demand.

The commission is urging the agencies to use regular-order certification from the general register as widely as possible. We believe that this method will provide them with the best material for the vast majority of the jobs they have to fill. Our experience leads us to prefer the candidates who make high scores. We believe that in general an agency will do better to take a man who rates in the 90's but lacks a few specialized courses, rather than one who rates in the 70's and has these courses. However, we will not insist that agencies follow our thinking on this point. We recognize that there are many cases in which special requirements are necessary, and we will cooperate in providing selective certification where there is a real identification of job requirements with specialized preparation. Our objective is to get well-qualified eligibles in sufficient num-

bers to fill agency needs; whether this shall be done by regular-order or selective certification is not the first problem.

It was no accident that we received over 30,000 applications for the first written test—the largest filing for any federal college-level examination in more than ten years. It was the direct result of an unprecedented promotion campaign, planned by the Civil Service Commission and carried out with the cooperation of the federal agencies.

During the summer of 1955 we issued a letter to the colleges and universities, a general press release, and a circular to government agencies; I presented the new program to the Cabinet; John Macy, the commission's executive director, discussed it with the top executive officers' group; commission officials held several series of meetings with departmental operating officials, personnel officers, and agency field officials. Agencies were called on to estimate possible placements. We prepared a poster and a new pamphlet, *Futures*, for distribution to the colleges and a manual for FSEE recruiting representatives. College placement officers, professional societies, and college associations were contacted. Finally, federal recruiting teams visited more than 900 campuses throughout the country and carried the story personally to the students. All this, and more, was done before October 18, the date on which the formal announcement of the Federal Service Entrance Examination was issued.

In short, we did not start, as heretofore, with an examination announcement. We started with an idea, and built up to the announcement as a climax.

The present indications of the success of the Federal Service Entrance Examination are extremely gratifying to members of the commission's staff, many of whom have not only devoted long hours to its development in recent months, but have been working on the problem of college recruitment for many years.

As the central personnel agency of the federal government, the Civil Service Commission has long been concerned with the need for an effective means of bringing able and ambitious young people into the career service. The first attempt at a recruiting program specifically directed to recent college graduates was the Junior Civil Service Examiner examination,



which was given in 1934 and again in 1936. This examination was open to all holders of bachelor's degrees, except in certain professions and sciences.

Successful at the outset, it had some serious weaknesses that soon became apparent. Although it was announced for appointment at grade CAF-3 (equivalent to the present GS-3), the widespread unemployment of the period, combined with the almost total absence of career planning on the part of the federal agencies, resulted in the appointment of the great majority of eligibles at grade CAF-2, where they were assigned—and in too many cases abandoned—to routine clerical duties.

In 1939 the Junior Civil Service Examiner was replaced by the Junior Professional Assistant examination, which was announced for grade P-1 (or CAF-5). This examination, which reflected the increasing emphasis on specialization that characterized personnel administration during that period, set specific course requirements for the various occupations or "options." Further specialization was developed in succeeding years through the Junior Agricultural Assistant, Junior Scientist and Engineer, and Junior Government Assistant examinations, with the Junior Management Assistant (originally an option of JPA) receiving the major share of attention in recent years.

The eventful decade following the announcement of the first JPA examination brought about a complete reversal of the employment situation. Serious manpower shortages developed in one occupation after another, and competition for the annual "college crop" grew increasingly keen. It finally became apparent that the "J" examinations, while successful in terms of quality, were no longer attracting talented young people in sufficient quantity to meet the government's growing needs. For one thing, their limited coverage made it necessary to use more and more separate examinations for the ever-increasing number of jobs outside their scope. Moreover, in spite of this multiplicity of entrance-level examinations, the liberal arts graduate who lacked certain specified courses was largely left out.

A further difficulty we encountered during the last two or three years was a falling-off of

interest in the JMA examination, which had been the primary medium for recruitment of potential career administrators. Many explanations for this decline were advanced. Some blamed the decreasing college enrollment and increasing competition from private industry. Others thought that the federal service, which was undergoing retrenchment rather than expansion at the time, had lost its appeal as a career field. Finally, the high examination mortality rate of the JMA, which had once been an asset, began to work against it among faculty members who saw too many of their better students being flunked.

We were faced with a complex problem. It was made up of the vastly increased responsibilities of the United States government in today's world, the continuing manpower shortages in many essential occupations, the sharpened competition for manpower from private employers, and the short supply of young people now entering the nation's work force.

This last factor, which results from the low birth rates of the thirties, is particularly troublesome. We shall live with it for some years to come. The shortage of beginners today will become a shortage of supervisors tomorrow, and of top-level managers shortly thereafter. The implications of this population phenomenon are recognized by private industry. A recent article in *Business Week* observed: "The depression-time drop in the birthrate will curtail severely the influx into higher management in about five years. Every company that's looking that far into the future knows it must have a bedrock organization laid down and functioning smoothly when that time comes."

The turnover situation is troublesome also. The turnover rate at the GS-5 level is about 14 per cent annually, and replacements alone require constant recruiting. Even during the heavy cutbacks of 1953, voluntary quits far exceeded loss of jobs by reduction in force.

It was clear that the flow of new talent into the federal service had to be maintained, whether government was expanding or contracting, and that failure to maintain it would spell disaster in the predictable future through loss of trained and competent leaders. It was clear also that it could not be maintained through existing recruitment programs.



We heard frequent complaints that there were not enough people at the middle-management level in the federal service who were *fully qualified* to move ahead into top jobs as needed. The reason for this was that in the past we had not brought in nearly enough young people at the GS-5 and GS-7 levels—people who had the potential for growth and advancement to the highest career levels and who would stay in the service long enough for that potential to be fully developed.

In the past, when we needed personnel at the middle or higher levels and lacked promotable material, we drew upon local governments, universities, and industry. But these institutions had become our competitors rather than sources of supply. We were faced with the alternatives of either promoting marginally qualified employees (who could handle the higher-grade jobs indifferently if at all), or greatly increasing our intake of college-caliber recruits. Obviously, the time had come for a concerted effort to open new recruiting possibilities for highly qualified young men and women whose youth gave promise of long career expectancy.

I would like to emphasize here that when we speak of college-caliber people we do not mean college graduates only. Forty per cent of our high-school graduates have college-level ability but do not go through college; these, as well as the college-trained, are the *college-caliber* people we are seeking. However, a concentrated recruiting program must be directed to the colleges, because it is on the campus that we find a concentration of potential recruits.

The commission's decision to develop a wholly new approach to the college recruiting problem was based on a number of compelling factors. The most significant of these, I believe, was the emergence of a new concept of manpower planning. The long-range operations of modern government have made it imperative that personnel administration take the long view. Recruitment just to fill today's needs is no longer enough; the continuity of good government demands that we recruit today, in sufficient numbers, the people who will become the career executives, scientists, and professional leaders of tomorrow. In order to do this, it is necessary for each agency of the

government to plan ahead—to analyze carefully its needs for such personnel five, ten, and even twenty years hence; to estimate the recruitment required at the entrance levels (allowing for turnover and other losses) to insure an adequate supply of career material; and to budget, definitely and specifically, for a balanced intake of career recruits each year.

The commission designed the new recruitment program with the following definite requirements in mind:

1. It had to be simple. The dozens of different entrance-level examinations, "J" and others, were confusing to students and discouraging to faculty counselors.

2. It had to have broad appeal, offering opportunity to college graduates in all fields of study and also to people without college degrees but with qualifying experience.

3. It had to operate on a year-round schedule. A major complaint from potential applicants has been that no suitable examinations were open at the time they wanted to apply, and a major complaint from the agencies has been that when registers became exhausted it was impossible to examine and hire persons for permanent employment.

4. It had to be used for filling not only a larger number, but a much wider variety of entrance-level jobs, both in Washington and throughout the field service.

We believe that the Federal Service Entrance Examination fulfills all these requirements.

1. It supersedes over 100 previous examinations. The fact that there is now one single avenue of entrance into the federal service means not only that the student has no problem of choosing the right examination, but also that the faculty counselor has no need to study course requirements of countless examination announcements. It means that agencies are provided with lists of qualified persons without regard to the kind of degree or the specific courses taken.

2. For college and noncollege people alike, qualifying in this examination is what counts. (In its movement away from specialization at the entrance level the Federal Service Entrance Examination seems almost to have completed a full circle back to the old Junior Civil Service Examiner, but it differs in some important

respects—notably the acceptance of *all* holders of bachelor's or higher degrees, even though we continue to give separate examinations for certain specialized fields, and the acceptance of qualifying experience in lieu of a college degree.)

3. As previously stated, interested candidates can apply at any time, and written tests will be given and additions made to the registers at frequent intervals throughout the year.

4. Jobs in more than 120 different classification series will be filled from the FSEE registers. There are literally thousands of jobs in the federal service—and far more of them throughout the country than in Washington—in which the training and ability of the college-caliber recruit can be used to the advantage both of the government and of the employee, even though the work itself may be unrelated to courses taken in college. The extreme flexibility of the new program will mean that a student with any college major may be eligible for any job that does not have the requirement of specific educational preparation. Placement will be based as much on the candidate's interests and aptitudes as on his choice of college courses. We feel that this will be a real break for the student who changes his mind part way through college or even after graduation. We know that this very frequently happens. Education is a process of growth and change, and many a career tentatively selected by the high-school student loses its appeal as his horizons widen during his college years.

We have a profound interest in the futures of the young people who will be appointed through the FSEE. While the career-development part of this program (and it is an integral part) is in the hands of the individual agencies, the commission is giving and will continue to give them assistance, encouragement, advice, and any necessary prodding. The purpose of the program, as I have said, is not just to fill today's entrance-level jobs, but also to fill tomorrow's needs for trained and ex-

perienced career leaders in the federal service. This purpose will not be accomplished if our college-caliber recruits are allowed to drift into career backwashes or are parked in dead-end streets.

We do not contemplate that one clear ladder of advancement shall be erected from each entrance job, or that each appointee's future shall be plotted in detail at the time of his appointment. The agency's responsibility, as we see it, is to provide training, guidance, and career opportunities for these young people, seeking them out when there are openings they can fill to advantage. In deemphasizing specialization we are emphasizing mobility. The capable and ambitious employee can expect to find career opportunities clear across the agency. He will learn what purchasing, for example, is all about, and move on to something else. He may even move across agency lines.

There is no need for anyone with ability to be "stuck" in any government job. The federal government is the biggest organization in the country, with more civilian employees than the combined total employment of the eight largest United States corporations. Indeed, many of the individual agencies that will be using the FSEE registers have more employees than most private companies. When you consider that the government employs 2,375,000 people, in 15,000 different occupations, in some 70 agencies, it does not seem too much to say that opportunity is unlimited.

In response to my letters to agency heads I have received assurances of wholehearted cooperation from the agencies. Some of these responses show that detailed plans have already been made for continued promotion of the examination, extensive use of the registers, and systematic development and advancement of appointees. In view of this attitude throughout the government, we have every reason to believe that our high hopes for the success of the Federal Service Entrance Examination program will be fully realized.

# The FSEE and the Staffing of Federal Agencies

By JAMES G. STOCKARD

*Chief, Training Branch, Personnel Division,  
Office of Management, General Services Administration*

**W**HAT will the Federal Service Entrance Examination do to overcome the deficiencies that have existed in the system of recruitment at the entrance levels of the federal service? How does the FSEE promise to solve staffing problems of federal agencies? What are the implications of the FSEE for improving the federal service? These are fair questions to ask about a project in which the United States government is investing great effort and considerable money.

It is a well-known fact that the federal service has suffered from a famine of college caliber talent at the entrance levels during the past few years. The famine was self-induced for the most part. Following World War II and the Korean conflict, public sentiment ran higher than usual for economy in government. People were thirsty for consumer goods. They had grown weary of wartime restrictions. Business and private industry anticipated this trend and made ready their productive capacity. To achieve its goal, private industry doubtless realized the need to shop the labor market for the best talent it could find and to stock up with young college people with marked potential for growth.

In the meantime, government was stripping itself of every nonessential function and was shrinking, chiefly by a process of attrition, the size of the federal work force. In such a climate, the hiring of college caliber persons was not encouraged because it was extremely difficult to make firm commitments to new employees concerning career opportunities and the permanence of employment.

In this period something was also happening to the status of existing civil service regis-

ters. A manpower register, like merchandise on the storekeeper's shelf, soon becomes obsolete and the demand for it diminishes unless it is kept presentable and is turned over rather rapidly. Operating officials are suspicious of any register that has been in existence for more than a year. It sounds like a "picked over" market in which the shopper is sensitive to the possibility of being sold a commodity of depreciated value. The U. S. Civil Service Commission therefore has to declare the unused register dead after a certain period, notwithstanding the fact that it may have on it persons who ranked high in the qualifying examination.

Now that the scope of peacetime federal activities has been stabilized, the systematic recruitment of college caliber persons for the entrance levels, to help offset annual turnover, can begin on a more concerted basis. Moreover, this recruitment can be undertaken within the framework of policies permitting much greater assurances of security and career prospects. As one line official put it, "We need a recruitment policy. FSEE forces our hand and will give us greater selectivity." In the writer's agency, operating officials have responded beautifully to FSEE. With 615 employees in grades GS-5 and GS-7 (herein considered entrance levels) which are appropriately filled from FSEE, a need for FSEE eligibles totaling 143 (23 per cent) has been forecast for this year. The need is scattered over at least 27 job series titles.

There has been the tendency, with replacements being made only in the most essential positions, to hire at the journeyman level. This tendency may have developed because operating officials have been anxious to get new em-

ployees inducted and producing at their maximum rate as soon as possible. They have been less interested in the policy, so frequently advertised by the business world, of having their new employees learn while they earn. The journeyman recruitment policy is, at best, a risky one; it puts the employer in much the same position that the consumer is in when he goes into the market in search of a "good used automobile" or a good used anything else. He may get a bargain and he may not.

A problem not related to postwar economies in government, but stemming instead from personnel policies, is the fact that many agencies have had glowing, published promotion policies but no recruitment policy. How many agencies have advertised a policy of orderly recruitment of college caliber people at the entrance levels, except from the Junior Management Assistant register, which is a drop in the bucket in relation to the needs that can be met by FSEE?

A strict promotion-from-within philosophy is essentially a philosophy of make-do with what you have. Persons of average ability whose ceiling for growth is limited are pushed along until they can go no further. Such policies clog the channels of vertical advancement for persons of superior ability and tend to dilute the reservoir of skills. They also stem the flow of fresh ideas into the organization.

This is not to say that the government has had no college caliber people coming into the service. There has been a trickle. Some have entered through the clerical ranks, or through specialized examination registers, and have gone part way up the ladder until they were blocked by superannuated employees or by the lack of an aggressive placement and training program.

Such people were inclined to leave the service at the first opportunity for better jobs in business and industry. It is not likely that they left with the most favorable assessments of the federal service. Their negative impressions have doubtless been transmitted to their friends in their local communities and have aggravated the problem of building prestige for the career service. FSEE will provide a marvelous opportunity to help restore public confidence in the career service. Strong induction and orientation programs and continuing

training efforts and aggressive placement practices should create a climate which will give these young citizens a look at their government from the inside out. They should see it in the most favorable light, and the quality of supervision and the level of challenge they meet should truly be something about which they will want to write home.

The veterans preference mandate has also had an adverse effect upon the federal manpower reservoir of college caliber talent. Many employing officials have been skeptical of college graduates because they enter the service with no retention credits and many of them without veterans preference. They are therefore the first to go in case of reduction in force. This is like reforestation in reverse; instead of cutting away the superannuated timber, the saplings are thinned out each time some cutting needs to be done. In other words, reductions in force have as a direct result of veterans preference taken their toll of promising young men and women from the career ranks without regard to their capabilities or demonstrated performance. Even where the nonveteran survived an RIF he or she was subject to reassignment to a position of lesser responsibility and motivation. FSEE will not cure this, but it will lessen the effects of any future minor reductions in force as the ratio of college caliber to noncollege caliber is improved.

Along with the postwar lag in the orderly recruitment of college caliber talent came a lag in the training and development of those already employed. The first management function to go, under the impact of reducing budgets, was consistently training. Operating officials have been reluctant to assign a part of the time of their critically needed staff for further training and development. Taking a man out of production on even a part-time basis was regarded as a risk that could not safely be taken. In the face of constant or increasing work loads and diminishing staffs, every man hour had to count—or so the operating official has reasoned. And in fairness the writer must admit that training people have not always exercised their best judgment or taken full advantage of their opportunities to serve the best interests of the operating official.

The famine in college caliber talent and reduced training have been felt especially in



critical job categories. Where there is an importation of ideas and a fresh flow of talent from the institutions of learning, an organization is more likely to be alive, creative, and responsive to external influences. In organizations where the preponderance of the staff is approaching retirement, routines are more apt to become inflexible and stagnation is more likely to occur. Understudies are not available for all strategic jobs and a heart failure in a key executive throws the organization into a state of confusion.

When the use of civil service registers slows down a gap may occur between the death of one civil service register and the birth of the successor register. In these circumstances, the Civil Service Commission issues a certificate of authority (Form 303) to any agency requesting authority to make temporary appointments pending the certification of eligibles. The 303 procedure has been used rather freely. Inherent in it is the possibility that agencies will acquire and become securely attached to persons of substandard ability and seriously limited potential. Even when registers are later established and the Civil Service Commission is in a position to certify persons with superior qualifications, agencies are reluctant to terminate temporaries and replace them with fresh eligibles. FSEE is expected to reduce substantially the 303 traffic. The examination will be open continuously; the register will have a steady flow of new eligibles resulting from several examinations a year; and the using agencies will therefore not be confronted with depleted or stale registers.

A perpetual problem in administering any merit system, and one which tends to become more pronounced when registers are not being widely used, is "personal patronage." People retain ties with institutions in which they were educated and with persons in organizations in which they have worked. This is a perfectly normal human tendency. However, it leads to the growth of a parallel and competing recruiting system. When they need to make replacements, and especially when their confidence in the quality of what the civil service manpower registers have to offer has been shaken, operating officials are sometimes prone to write back to Squedunk College and get Professor Zilch's endorsement of a likely can-

didate. Zilch is happy to cooperate and promptly files his endorsement. The trouble is that Zilch may not get the full story on what the requirements of the job are and the prospective employer may get only fragmentary information on the candidate. The personnel office is nevertheless urged to find some way to hire the candidate.

FSEE will not curb the informal communication with the Zilches, but it should capitalize on these relationships. All college trained people in government can, and should, urge their former professors who are still teaching to encourage their students to take the FSEE. There is no better way for citizens to acquire a clear understanding and appreciation of their government than to do a tour of duty in it. Even for college graduates who may be committed to careers in private industry, there is no better "post-graduate" preparation than several years of intensive experience in government.

While federal administrators have been faced traditionally with the long-time lag between the date of the budget submission and the appropriation of funds, it may provide a stumbling block to manpower budgeting in a peacetime economy. Officials are rightfully cautious about requisitioning personnel until they have the money in hand. FSEE will not change the budget lag situation, but by providing a continuous supply of talent and fresh registers, federal officials will be encouraged to do their manpower forecasting, budgeting, and requisitioning on a more orderly basis.

There is another area of problems in which FSEE promises some relief. The tendency in the past has been for specialists to recruit specialists. Statisticians looked for statisticians. Economists searched for economists. Accountants sought accountants. There is nothing inherently wrong with specialists, especially in a world of steadily increasing specialization. However, this tendency may have resulted in the overspecialization of the career service. Specialists can quickly lose perspective, as the grooves of specialization are ever-deepening. Liberal arts majors, and particularly those from the smaller colleges, have not been sought after. A nominal number have found their way into the federal service, mostly through the clerical door, but they have not been the premium talent in demand. For example, the



Junior Professional Assistant Examination had a sizable list of options, but they were nearly all technical specialties.

One result of this tendency to overspecialize has been to make it increasingly difficult for executives to develop adequate selectivity when searching for potential supervisors and management personnel. A universal problem of management is the picking of leaders who can coordinate the work of specialists and achieve unity of action toward common goals. A true specialist is seldom able to do this. Overspecialization therefore accentuates the problem of leader selection. FSEE should tend to alleviate it.

Overspecialization may well have had some adverse effect on employee relations of the federal service. It is reasonable to assume that persons with a well-rounded education are able to adjust socially more readily than persons with a highly specialized education. To the writer it seems that a liberal sprinkling in the service of college caliber employees with broad general educational background is a good mixing agent. With proper training and development, the younger FSEE's should be able to make an effective contribution to the maintenance of harmonious working relations.

It is the writer's observation also that bright, young employees such as those that FSEE promises to supply can, under proper supervision, serve as a stimulant to production in an organization. They often become the pace setters in a work group. Pace setters, unless carefully handled, may cause employee relations problems, but on the whole they can be used to good advantage. FSEE should serve as a spur to production throughout the federal service and to keeping all employees on their toes.

FSEE must be evaluated also in relation to the competitive forces at play in the labor market. The tide of manpower flow to industry has been induced, in no small degree, by generous subsidies, gifts, endowments, scholarships, and work-study arrangements for which industry has been responsible. With industry pouring great sums of money into the research projects of educational institutions, graduates have had special inducements to accept private employment when opportunities were offered.

This intimate relationship between education and industry can ultimately mold curriculums in such a way as to point toward private fields of endeavor. If the public service is to be manned by competent employees, and if economy and efficiency are to be the watchwords, the federal service must get its fair share of the superior college trained people. Guidance of young career-seekers at all stages of their development must be enlightened, objective, and equally attentive to the needs of government and of private industry. FSEE provides the vehicle by which educators can put their full weight behind the pumps that regulate the flow of manpower to government consumers.

Colleges and universities with public administration schools must constantly strive to strengthen their curriculums and to make their courses reflect actual government practice as well as theoretical and idealistic patterns. Additional schools of public administration may need to be established to encourage a flow of talent from all geographical sections of the country. Apportionment as such is not in keeping with the concept of a pure merit system, although it lingers in modified form as a civil service regulation. As government becomes more decentralized it is desirable that each geographical region be in a position to supply at least its own quota of manpower for its federal establishments.

There are problems aside from the examination process which deserve consideration if FSEE is to do the maximum amount of good. For example, why should not the government adopt a flexible pay plan that would permit the eligible with outstanding potential to be employed at something above the minimum entrance rate? This is technically possible now, but only in shortage categories, and the civil service procedure does not encourage the practice.

It may also be necessary to streamline the loyalty and security clearances and other red tapish procedures that are involved in inducting new employees. In some agencies, induction is delayed several months while a "full field" loyalty and security investigation is conducted. During such prolonged investigation the candidate may accept other, readily available employment or he may bow out in disgust

and say "No thank you" when he is finally asked to come to work.

The policy against paid government publicity needs careful scrutiny. The Washington papers carry, daily, in the classified section large advertisements for specialized personnel for work in private industry all over the United States. This means of draining the federal manpower pool can have very damaging effects unless the government's hands are untied so that it can engage in the competitive bidding process.

In conclusion, several things may be said. No one can predict with certainty the success or failure of FSEE as government's bid for its fair share of college caliber manpower. To the writer, FSEE is the most positive recruitment step ever taken to strengthen the career service. To be successful, FSEE must have the unwavering support of educators, federal officials, and all personnel specialists, especially those

concerned with placement and training activities. The business community must be willing to recognize the government as a competitive bidder with legitimate needs in the labor market and everyone concerned must be tolerant of young people who choose the public service as a career or as one phase of their basic training and experience. Specifically, educators, business people, and the general public must never indulge in the unwarranted belief that persons with a few years of government employment no longer meet the needs of private employment.

As more college trained young persons enter the career service of their nation, and contribute to the common goal of maximum economy and efficiency in government operations, the State of the Union should be increasingly favorable and the FSEE will have left its indelible mark.

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#### The British Administrative Class

The work of the administrator . . . , taken as a whole, requires in an unusual degree a capacity to master and to marshal detail in many different fields at different times, to interpret effectively the ideas and policies of others, and to operate a complex administrative machine. It is rare to find these qualities in balanced proportion in one individual but the Civil Service can never afford to be short of them and must therefore provide in its arrangements adequate opportunities for recruiting, training, developing and retaining enough of the exceptional talent required to man effectively its highest ranks.

—Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, *Report Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, November 1955* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1955, Cmd. 9613), p. 97.

# The FSEE: The University Point of View

By HENRY REINING, JR.

*Dean, School of Public Administration  
University of Southern California*

WHAT may the new Federal Service Entrance Examination be expected to accomplish in solving current federal recruiting and career service problems, especially from the point of view of the university? That was the question to which this writer was asked to address himself.

The answer is divided. The new examination will probably ease the need of the federal service for recruits by attracting qualified college graduates in larger numbers; the examination throws open entrance to so many more college people than ever before and the method of the examination itself is better. At the same time, it will intensify the problems of the federal career service because it places an even greater burden of responsibility upon the federal agencies to meet the "contract" implicit in this new and broader arrangement for getting the very generally educated graduate into U. S. employment.

The FSEE is to be hailed as a great step in advance of previous practice. There remain, however, a number of problems which deserve mention, especially at the outset of the program.

The effectiveness of the new examination as a recruiting device cannot be disputed now that the data are in on the first test, administered December 10, 1955. As against a shrinkage in JMA applicants of 50 per cent over the previous five years,<sup>1</sup> and a great shortage in the federal labor market generally, 30,375 college seniors and graduates filed to take the first FSEE. Even more striking is the statistic that among this number were 8,300 candidates who filed for management internships. This is a greater number than the total who filed for the

JMA in all of 1954 and yet this is only the beginning. There will be periodic additional filings.

It would be an error to attribute all of this success to the new approach of the FSEE. The strenuous recruitment efforts by the U. S. Civil Service Commission and other federal agencies, the handsome literature, attractive posters, and informative pamphlets, the widespread publicity also were factors, and the direct contacts with university administrations and faculties<sup>2</sup> were especially effective in bringing out applicants. But the new examination was the indispensable gimmick.

It was designedly the harbinger of a new day in the federal service. Without it, one is inclined to feel the results of all the recruiting would have been much less fruitful. The evidence which will help prove this point is not yet available. When it can be ascertained how many of the applicants are generally educated graduates not previously qualified to take a U. S. government examination, then it can be determined how much really "new blood," in the recruitment sense, was actually attracted by the new features of the FSEE. Although this new blood will create problems, it is important to the success of the FSEE as a recruitment device.

The new method has distinct advantages for the university and the university graduate:

1. *Simplification.* By bracketing so many examinations, almost all academic disciplines are represented in the "Job List" to be filled by certification from the registers of the single

<sup>2</sup> At the writer's institution, the University of Southern California, in October, 1955, there was held, for example, for the first time in anyone's memory, a full-dress conference of the university deans, directors, and department heads with federal officials in which there was an exhaustive discussion of the FSEE and all it implied.

<sup>1</sup> Lowell H. Hattery, "The Prestige of Federal Employment," 15 *Public Administration Review* 181 (Summer, 1955).

FSEE.<sup>3</sup> In view of the continuing prestige problem of the federal service, it will be a great boon to faculty interested in promoting federal careers to be able, in effect, to talk to interested students about just one examination instead of a number of tests. Furthermore, the single FSEE makes it almost impossible for the interested but green student to miss his opportunity for federal employment, except by flunking the examination.

2. *Foolproof nature of the method.* By having open and continuous filing and by giving the examination several times a year, the new method removes the hazard of an unsophisticated student's losing out because he missed a deadline by a few hours or days, as a number always have in years gone by, or because another important engagement conflicted with the annually given examination. In short, the new method relieves the potential candidate of the necessity of knowing and meeting a number of conditions heretofore left to his own follow-up. All this is shifted, as it were, to the shoulders of the examining agency—where the responsibility should have been all along, one is tempted to add.

There is still one small possibility of error—that the unsophisticated student, relying on what he has been told about previous examinations, will fail to file with the regional or branch office where he intends to take the test, as FSEE rules require. One assumes that even such errors of students will be corrected by dispatching their papers where those belong: for example, to the proper region if the student mistakenly files with the Washington office. Now one filing will serve not only for departmental and field purposes but for a number of overseas jobs as well.

In brief, then, the FSEE recognizes what might have been a principle a long time ago: that the filing for and taking of a civil service examination should be made as easy and foolproof as possible; that the candidate should be expected to do only one thing to start the ball rolling, file his intentions; and that the examining agency should carry the ball from that

point on, until the candidate is appointed or disqualified.

3. *Reserve register.* Another feature of the FSEE which deserves commendation is the newly introduced "conservation" provision. Previously, if a college senior or graduate student failed or was disqualified in one examination, he was lost to other possible uses as a U. S. government employee unless he himself filed for other examinations. Now, with the consolidation effected by the FSEE and the multiplicity of registers resulting from it, the student presumably has as many chances as he has qualifications. And with the new emphasis on general preparation, these chances should be almost limitless.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, all candidates who try for management internships and fail the added hurdles set up for this more difficult achievement—(a) the general abilities test, (b) the administrative problems or public affairs test, (c) the oral interview, or (d) the reference check—will nevertheless be retained on all other registers for which they are qualified.

This is a more important point than may be appreciated at first sight. Not only are useful university people salvaged in this way, but the disheartening effect of more than nineteen out of twenty candidates failing year after year is done away with. There can be no doubt that one of the dampening effects of the old JMA examination was the fact that only 5 per cent passed the written examination, and that only about half of these passed the oral interview and the reference check. This deterring effect should be much relieved by the "reserve register" idea of using management ineligible for other purposes.

There still remains, however, at least so far as the management internship candidates are concerned, one violation of the above-stated principle of "foolproof" simplicity. This violation is the requirement that only such persons will be considered for management training as themselves apply for it by writing "Management Internship" on their applications. Won't someone please come up with an idea to give

<sup>3</sup> Engineering, physics, chemistry, architecture, pharmacy, law are some of the exceptions. But it is noteworthy that even after the Civil Service Commission omitted these fields from the FSEE Job List, a number of agencies listed willingness to use FSEE eligibles for such jobs.

<sup>4</sup> The U. S. Civil Service Commission estimates there are 50,000 positions at the GS-5 level that call for no specific subject-matter preparation. At present turnover rates, 8-9,000 of such positions become vacant each year. Specifically, 1,600 of these are in the departmental service in Washington, D. C., and 6,100 in the field for 1955-56.



all competitors in the FSEE a chance at management training? Would it not be possible to include in the main body of the examination enough of the potential identification items for management so that the examining agency could invite those successful on these items to compete for management training opportunities? Under present procedure, the examining agency acts on the assumption that only those people have management talent who realize it themselves, that the best initial indication is "self-selection" by the candidate himself. Perhaps that is at the present time the only feasible procedure. But is it a safe assumption in view of the fact that most of the candidates filing for the FSEE will be college seniors with only limited, if any, work experience?

4. *Coordination of recruitment.* How welcome to the university faculty is the consolidation not only of the examination itself but of the accompanying recruitment? Anyone on the faculty of a large university, especially in a metropolitan area where state and local demands must be added to federal, cannot fail to be gratified with the promise implicit in the FSEE that from now on recruiting contacts will be not only positive but coordinated. Only one set of federal recruiters is still too much to hope for, but the FSEE does promise that federal recruitment efforts will be better coordinated, if not reduced in number.

Also, it is to be noted that under the banner of the FSEE the army of federal recruiters has carried the word to the more remote colleges. One sees in a recent speech of a federal official that during 1955 federal recruiters visited over 900 college campuses, many of which had never been visited by them before.

5. *Personnel planning.* Finally, one must remark the large measure of planning for personnel requirements which went into the FSEE effort this year—and which must accompany it in the future, as well, if the consolidated approach involving very generally educated candidates is to work. This is most apparent in the case of the management interns whose first year or two of service is largely of a training nature and who do not become fully useful for several years after entrance. These "several years" have to be foreseen and provided for. That kind of personnel planning is bound to be beneficial all around and especially for the college graduate who must get his

specialization after induction into the federal service.

This brings us to the other side of the coin. No account of this sort would be complete were it not to list some of the problems created by the FSEE—in fact, in a sense, created by the very advantages that have been listed above.

*Question A.* Will the career-contract of the FSEE be fully and promptly met by the employing agencies of the U. S. government—especially for candidates with only a general college education and no vocational orientation whatsoever?

Will the careful orientation and induction which is so patently necessary for this new kind of recruit be given? Will the wholesale training and further education that is obviously necessary if such a recruit is to perform specific duties satisfactorily be provided and facilitated? Will career ladders and promotion programs, with accompanying training, educational leave, rotation of assignments, and so on, be as carefully worked out as the college graduate will expect and require if he is to forge ahead in his "career"? Similarly, will the baccalaureate be enabled to earn advanced degrees in those fields where these are required for professional standing—for example, the Master's degree in library science and the Ph.D. in economics?

If not, will the candidate, "lured" by the FSEE into starting his career with only the Bachelor's degree, in time feel that he has been short-changed? And what then, when the word gets back to the college campus as it inevitably will?

This is indeed sensitive ground. And this is not an attack on federal agencies and executives. The fault lies elsewhere, namely, at the door of Congress. In the policy statement on training issued by the White House on January 11, 1955, the executive branch went about as far as it could on the question of training and education for federal employees. Bills submitted to this Congress, and to previous ones, attest to executive good faith. The chairman of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Philip Young, put the matter squarely in an address to the Kansas City Personnel Conference on September 29, 1955, when he said,

At the present time, there are no less than nineteen laws on the subject of training of Federal employees and yet only a handful of Federal agencies are



benefited by them. And the urgency of the need for training . . . is increasing every day.

The chairman went on to say that what is necessary is presidential authority to approve specialized training, at such places and times as it is needed, both within the federal agencies and through such means as educational leave with the universities and outside experience with research laboratories, state agencies, private industrial concerns, and other nonfederal facilities. One could not agree more with the chairman. And one could go on and say, in the specific context of these comments, that without such authority the U. S. government cannot carry out the career-contract it assumes with the nonspecialists recruited through the FSEE.

*Question B.* Will the "new blood" of the FSEE be fully used by the federal agencies? Will the generally educated eligible be requisitioned, and will he be appointed upon certification by the U. S. Civil Service Commission? Or will the agencies cling to old, well-established habits of asking for the candidate already at least in some measure specialized in the work to be done? If the generally educated eligibles are not utilized, it will not take long, one would predict, for that type of candidate to become quite scarce. The fact of the matter is that the general registers of eligibles will have to be used in full fashion if this new approach is to continue to be taken at face value by the generally educated college student.

*Question C.* Just how "antispecialist" is the FSEE, if not in design then in effect? To what extent does and will the new approach "compete" with that of the schools of social work, library science, business and public administration, education, and the graduate schools generally, by creating the view among college seniors that they do not need a Master's or Doctor's or professional degree before starting their careers in the government service? To be sure, there is provision for GS-7 appointments from the FSEE registers, as well as for GS-5, in order to recognize graduate training, at least in part.<sup>5</sup> But what will the over-all effect of this stress on general education be? No university professor in one of those schools offer-

ing graduate degrees would be true to his faith if he did not raise such questions.

*Question D.* Will the time involved in the civil service process of filing, taking the examination, setting up the registers, and making the certifications be short enough to retain at least some if not all of the better candidates on the FSEE registers—especially in a period when not only private employers but a number of state and local governments are hiring immediately upon personal interview? This is a question which applies, in fact, less to the FSEE than to older exams, since the FSEE promises faster action than has been known heretofore. But will this action be fast enough to catch enough of the "depression babies," who are in such drastic short supply, to meet the needs of the U. S. government—needs which are for quality as well as numbers of personnel?

*Question E.* What about pay? This also is a problem not peculiar to the FSEE, but it will have a real bearing on its success. Not only private employers but the more progressive state and local jurisdictions as well are ahead of the U. S. government in pay at entrance levels and—even more strikingly—at the very top.<sup>6</sup> The pay at the top is important, for the university person sets his career sights on the basis not of the entrance salary but of the best salary prospects at the top. Again, one must call on Congress to take note and action if objectives of the FSEE are not to be nullified by this extrinsic factor.

One almost feels like apologizing for raising such questions in the face of the great and gallant effort which the FSEE represents. But one would be less than realistic if he did not do so.

In summary, there can be no doubt of the efficacy of the FSEE as a recruiting device. It not only can be predicted that it will work out well, but it can be demonstrated on the basis of the first filings that it already has been successful in this respect. But the FSEE also intensifies the career service problems of the federal service. Through this examination and the kind of recruitment which has gone along with it, and the promises made both explicitly and implicitly, the U. S. government has entered into a contract that will be difficult to fulfill. One will observe the outcome with great interest.

<sup>5</sup> The preliminary use figures collected by the U. S. Civil Service Commission show 25 per cent of the jobs to be filled this year to be in GS-7; 73 per cent at GS-5; 2 per cent at GS-6.

<sup>6</sup> See Henry Reining, Jr., "JMA versus Jobs at Home," 18 *Personnel Administration* 11 (March, 1955).

# The Prestige of Public Employment: 1929 and 1954

By MORRIS JANOWITZ  
and DEIL WRIGHT

*Institute of Public Administration  
University of Michigan*

A QUARTER of a century has now passed since Professor Leonard D. White undertook his pioneer research on the prestige of public employment in the city of Chicago.<sup>1</sup> In the years since he first described the low prestige of public employment, the scope and importance of government have expanded tremendously at all levels. Nevertheless, continued low prestige of the public service has remained an assumption in American political life and in the writings of political scientists. This research report presents some recent empirical findings which call into question the presumed low prestige of public employment and indicate, instead, a long-term and marked increase in its prestige value.

The career public administrator and the political scientist can point to the rise of the merit system and enhanced job benefits; yet they both are inclined to feel that the desired goals in prestige have yet to be achieved.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, recent studies, most of which have focused on the attitudes of select groups of college students toward higher-level federal employment, point to the same conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leonard D. White, *The Prestige Value of Public Employment* (University of Chicago Press, 1929). Also, Leonard D. White, *Further Contributions to the Prestige Value of Public Employment* (University of Chicago Press, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive statement of this orientation was contained in Lowell H. Hattery, "The Prestige of Federal Employment," 13 *Public Administration Review* 181-87 (Summer, 1955).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, and reference cited there. Also, U. S. Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, Appendixes, Report of the Personnel Policy Committee, Appendix C, "Studies in the Prestige

of Federal Employment" (Washington, 1948: mimeographed).

But what are the attitudes of the population at large toward government employment? Only by cross-sectional studies of the total population can we hope to understand the broad context and emerging trends in attitudes toward the prestige of public employment. Specialized studies of specific groups are vital for specific program planning, but they may be rather misleading for long-range planning and for understanding the problem in its full context.

The empirical data which constitute the basis of this article were gathered from a representative sample survey of 764 members of the adult population in the Detroit metropolitan area, February, 1954, through the facilities of the Detroit Area Study. The Detroit Area Study is a research group of the University of Michigan operating under a grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division of The Ford Foundation.

Was there any reason to assume that the public at large would have different attitudes from those of selected groups of college students? Are not the public's attitudes dependent on traditional stereotypes of the government service and not on their personal experiences? Have not the mass media, especially the newspapers, continued to approach the public service with deep distrust and negativism? Have not the various legislative committees investigating civil service had other primary objectives than that of raising the prestige of public employment?

In projecting empirical research on the cur-

of Federal Employment" (Washington, 1948: mimeographed).

rent state of opinion, there was good reason to believe that we would find a marked increase in the prestige value of public employment. The basis on which this increase in the prestige of public employment was predicted was twofold, and had to do with long-term trends in American society.

First, it was assumed that for important sections of the population in a metropolitan community underlying attitudes toward the public service were conditioned by the services that government has come to perform. The expansion of governmental services has meant that real benefits are now conferred on wide segments of the population and this would, in the long run, result in an increase in positive attitudes toward those responsible. Thus, the long-term changes of the character of government through the New Deal, war, and postwar periods would be more important than the impact of the mass media or the nature of political debate about the public bureaucracy.

Second, the last twenty-five years has witnessed a shift in the dominant values attached to occupational careers; job security has become a dominant value. The public's images of the job security of public employment would be likely to enhance the respect and esteem for the civil servant's career.

Thus, on both these counts, we expected to find, just as Mr. White uncovered, that the social groups with low income, low education, and low social status would have the highest respect for public employment. Comparatively, these groups could be assumed to have gained the most as a result of the new services of government; in addition, these are the groups most concerned with job security.

The methodology of this research was based on an hour-long interview survey with a representative sample of the adult population of the Detroit metropolitan area. It encompassed a wide investigation of the contacts, attitudes, and evaluations of the public with respect to a representative group of federal, state, and local administrative agencies and to public administration in general. The results presented here are limited to some of the findings on the prestige of public employment. Although the interview investigated a range of topics beyond Mr. White's original objectives, special care

was taken to duplicate closely some of his key questions and thereby enhance the possibility of comparison.<sup>4</sup> In particular, we used as a point of departure his insight that charting the prestige of public employment in the United States meant comparing the public's evaluation of occupations in the public service with the same ones in private employment.

In brief, our findings indicate that prestige of public employment has moved into a new phase and lost much of its "second class citizen" status. The finding of Mr. White that, for the population at large, private employment *per se* holds higher esteem is no longer true. This conclusion derives not from an isolated finding but from numerous aspects of the Detroit Area Study, from comparisons with Mr. White's findings, and from two comparable national opinion surveys. Currently, in the Detroit metropolitan area, opinion on the general question: "If the pay were the same, would you prefer to work for the United States government or for a private firm," reveals a preference for governmental employment. (Table 1) Fifty-six per cent of the total population selected government and 30 per cent industry; the remaining 14 per cent were indifferent or had no opinion.

The responses of an urban area were expected to be more favorable to governmental employment than the responses of a rural area; perhaps also the unstable conditions of the Detroit labor market increased the percentage selecting governmental employment over other areas in the country. Nevertheless, the Detroit

<sup>4</sup>Mr. White sought to investigate attitudes of the representative public. Although at that time he lacked refined sampling procedure, the controls he applied render his findings most useful for comparative purposes. The Detroit Area Study operates with an area probability sample. Undoubtedly, the local political and administrative conditions in Detroit conditioned to some extent public knowledge and attitudes toward the public bureaucracy. Therefore, all comparisons have been made with care and in the light of differences in sampling and minor modifications in wording of questions. Moreover, for the current situation, Detroit like each of the major metropolitan areas, has special industrial features. Detroit has, for example, a particularly high concentration of recent southern migrants. Nevertheless, since the majority of the U. S. population resides in such metropolitan areas and since there is no reason to believe that Detroit is so especially unique, the contemporary findings have relatively broad relevance.

# THE PRESTIGE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

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Table 1

Percentages Preferring Government and Private Employment, in Surveys in 1940, 1947, and 1954

Preference	U. S. National Survey <i>Fortune</i> February, 1940 <sup>a</sup>	U. S. National Survey <i>AIPO</i> August, 1947 <sup>b</sup>	Detroit Area Study February, 1954
	Percentage		
U. S. government	40	41	56
Private firm	50	40	30
No preference; no opinion	10	19	14
Total	100	100	100

<sup>a</sup> "Would you prefer the government or private business as an employer?"

<sup>b</sup> "Assuming the pay is the same, would you prefer to work for the U. S. Government or for a private firm?"

Area Study data confirm the findings of other national surveys, which not only indicate improved prestige of governmental employment but underline that this development has been in gradual process for a number of years. (Table 1) In 1940, the *Fortune* survey found 50 per cent of a national survey selecting private employment, whereas by 1947, the American Institute of Public Opinion recorded only 40 per cent more favorable to private employment.

Next, it was possible to compare these trends with the state of public opinion in two other democracies, Canada and Australia, where under British influence the development of the civil service is presumed to have gone further. Contrary to our expectation, the prestige of public employment was not markedly higher

in either Australia or Canada, where opinion surveys were made in 1948. (Table 2) In these surveys and in the *AIPO* and the Detroit Area surveys, pay was assumed to be equal and therefore responses focus directly on the prestige value of public employment. In response to the current assumptions of the prestige of federal employment among public administration experts, it can be said that in the United States, where business values are presumed to dominate, the prestige of the public service is at least as high as it is in Canada and Australia.

Now we can turn to a direct comparison between Mr. White's findings and our data on the basis of the preferences for specific occupations in private industry versus governmental employ. Again, the results confirm at all points the trend toward higher prestige of public em-

Table 2

Percentages Preferring Government and Private Employment, in Surveys in Australia, Canada, the United States, and the Detroit Area

Preference	Australia 1948 <sup>a</sup>	Canada 1948 <sup>b</sup>	United States 1947	Detroit Area 1954
	Percentage			
Government	44	36	41	56
Private	47	45	40	30
No difference	5	2 <sup>c</sup>	...	...
No opinion; undecided	4	17	19	14
Total	100	100	100	100

<sup>a</sup> Australia Public Opinion Polls, July, 1948: "If two jobs had the same wages and conditions, but one was with the government and the other in a private business, which would you choose?"

<sup>b</sup> Canadian Institute for Public Opinion, March, 1948: "Assuring that the pay is the same, would you prefer to work for the Dominion government or a private firm?"

<sup>c</sup> Answer: "If the other party were in power."



Table 3  
Prestige of Selected Occupations in Government  
and Private Employment, Detroit Area Study, 1954\*

Type of Employment with More Prestige	Occupation			
	Stenographer	Accountant	Watchman	Doctor
	Percentage			
Public	49	38	35	25
Private	25	39	40	53
No difference, or don't know	22	18	20	17
Not ascertained	4	5	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	764	764	764	764

\* "We'd like to know what people think of government jobs and government workers. If these jobs are about the same in kind of work, pay, and so forth, which have the most prestige? (a) a stenographer in a life insurance company, or a stenographer in the city tax assessor's office, (b) an accountant in the Detroit Department of Public Works, or an accountant in a private accounting firm, (c) a night watchman in a bank, or a night watchman in the City Hall, (d) a doctor in the Detroit Receiving Hospital, or a doctor who is on the staff of a private hospital."

ployment. The specific group of occupations in the public service under investigation in the Detroit Area Study had, on the basis of Mr. White's method of computation, an over-all prestige index of -2.5, which was markedly higher than the -11.7 index for a similar group of occupations in 1929 in Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

In neither Mr. White's research nor in our survey was there any special interest in the specific jobs of the general administrator type. Instead the focus was on the broad range of skills which make up the bulk of public service. White investigated a battery of occupational roles from janitor to chemist. The relative prestige of public employment varied from job to job, yet the lower prestige of government regardless of the job was generally present. The sampling of a comparable but much smaller list of specific occupations did not present the same pattern in the Detroit Area Study. Doctor, accountant, stenographer, and night watchman were used in order to cover job classifications which had high, middle-range, and low intrinsic prestige. (Table 3) Interestingly enough, it was only in the case of the doctor, with his particular role in our society, that private employment was seen as clearly more esteemed than governmental service (53 per

cent to 25 per cent). In one case, that of stenographer, public employment was seen as more esteemed than private employment and by a sizable plurality (49 per cent to 25 per cent). In two cases (accountant and night watchman) the attractiveness of private industry and governmental service was relatively balanced.

Additional dimensions of the enhanced reputation of the public servant emerge from the replication of two additional questions investigated by Mr. White.

"Would you say that generally you get more courteous attention in dealing with city employees than in dealing with employees of big companies?" The percentages of responses are given in Table 4.

Even if the "don't know" responses, which were not separated in the Chicago study, were

Table 4  
Courteousness of Attention Received from Public and  
Private Employees, Chicago Study, 1929, and Detroit  
Area Study, 1954, by Percentage

Courteousness of Types of Employees	Chicago Study	Detroit Area Study
	Percentage	
Private more courteous	60	29
Two groups equal	22	29
City more courteous	18	27
Don't know: not ascertained	...	15
Total	100	100

\* The prestige index is the difference between the percentage of total choices favoring public employment and the percentage of total choices favoring private employment.



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Table 5  
Percentages Giving Various Ratings to Public Employment on a Prestige Scale  
by Group, Detroit Area Study, 1954

Group	Prestige Scale				Total	Number
	High	Middle	Low	Not Ascertained		
	Percentage					
Income						
Under \$2,000	30	42	21	7	100	81
\$2,000-3,999	31	38	24	7	100	145
\$4,000-5,999	33	36	27	4	100	269
\$6,000-7,999	20	36	35	9	100	134
Over \$8,000	16	33	44	7	100	97
Social Class						
Lower Lower	37	38	21	4	100	256
Upper Lower	31	39	26	4	100	207
Lower Middle	25	32	36	7	100	186
Upper Middle	14	34	43	9	100	106
Negro-White						
White	26	37	31	6	100	658
Negro	44	33	18	5	100	106
Sex						
Male	26	34	34	6	100	360
Female	31	39	24	6	100	404
Education						
0-6 years	27	47	15	11	100	105
7-8 years	35	38	24	3	100	133
9-11 years	31	40	26	3	100	173
12 years	31	31	33	5	100	236
More than 12 years	14	34	47	5	100	109

all considered to be unfavorable to the public servant, the marked improvement is still evident. It seems hardly likely that this shift is entirely due to improved client relations on the part of the public service, although this is certainly at work. The services that government performs seem also involved in this attitude change.

Responses to the question: "In general, would you say that your dealings with public employees were poor, fair, good, or very good" showed a similar improvement. The unfavorable category (poor) dropped from 24 per cent in the Chicago study to 6 per cent in the Detroit Area Study.

The next step in the analysis was to determine how the prestige value of public employment varied among different social groups. As stated above, we believed that we would find a higher level of esteem for public employment than a quarter of a century ago; we also expected to find that prestige of public employ-

ment would still be highest among those very same groups where Mr. White had encountered the highest prestige. With some minor but interesting variations, the Detroit Area Study found, as did White, that those for whom public employment had the highest prestige value tended to come from the bottom of the social structure. (Table 5) By means of an attitude scaling technique, it was possible to classify the sample of the Detroit metropolitan area into groups with high, middle-range, and low prestige evaluation of public employment.<sup>6</sup>

First, both lower-class position and low income were linked to high prestige evaluations of public employment. As we moved up in the social class structure, the positive attitudes toward government employment declined and

<sup>6</sup> The so-called Guttman scaling technique was employed. See Samuel A. Stouffer and others, *Measurement and Prediction*, Vol. IV in *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton University Press, 1950).

negative ones increased. On an income basis, the division of attitudes from more favorable toward more unfavorable occurred around the \$8,000 level. (Income is the reported income of the family head.)

Second, the difference in opinion between Negro and white attitudes was as great as between any of the social groupings and revealed the attractiveness of government jobs to this low status group in particular. Clearly, the relative absence of discrimination in government employment was in part at work. In addition to the nondiscrimination policies of the federal government, both Wayne County and the city of Detroit have well established merit systems.

It is worthy of note that women accord higher prestige to government employment than men. Again, no doubt at the root was a similar belief in the greater equality of treatment that the impersonal and official character of government affords.

Third, at variance with findings of the earlier study, foreign-born status was not positively linked to higher opinions of the prestige value of government employment. This finding in no way contradicts the central conclusion linking low position in the social structure and positive attitudes toward government service. It merely reaffirms that with the process of assimilation of the foreign born, new groups such as Negroes and rural migrants now heavily contribute to the lower class of the urban industrial community.

Fourth, education is known to be associated

with social class as well as income, and therefore it was to be expected that those with high education would hold more unfavorable attitudes than those with low education. Favorable attitudes were concentrated in those with lower education, but the link was not direct. Education up to the completion of high school presented a fairly uniform proportion of individuals favorable to public employment with the exception of those with less than six years of schooling. Strikingly enough, only for those individuals with some college or with completed college education did the reputation of government employment drop off sharply. These findings raise a strong presumption about the inability of higher education to foster a balanced evaluation of the prestige of government employment.

In addition, the influence of education emerges when the educational patterns of the lower-class individual are separated from the middle-class individual. (Table 6) Such a comparison is, in part, unequal since the lower class in general does not have access to higher education. But it is clear that whereas for the middle class increased amounts of education, especially of college, were sharply linked to unfavorable attitudes toward government jobs, educational experience for the working class does not have this consequence.

While many specific factors are at work in accounting for these group differences, they all underline the real as well as the symbolic attractiveness of a government career and job for those who find themselves at the bottom of the

Table 6  
Percentages Giving Various Ratings to Public Employment on a Prestige Scale, by  
Social Class and Educational Level, Detroit Area Study, 1954

Social Class	Prestige Scale				Total	Number
	High	Middle	Low	Not Ascertained		
Percentage						
Lower Education						
0-6 years	33	44	16	7	100	107
7 or 8 years	33	41	25	1	100	83
9-11 years	36	37	23	4	100	131
12 years or more	34	34	29	3	100	131
Middle Education						
11 years or less	23	40	29	8	100	78
12 years	26	29	38	7	100	130
Attended college	11	32	51	6	100	81

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Table 7

Percentages Giving Various Ratings to Public Employment on a Prestige Scale, by Attitude on Proper Sphere of Government Services, Detroit Area Study, 1954

Sphere of Government Services	Prestige Scale				Total	Number
	High	Middle	Low	Not Ascertained		
	Percentage					
Too much	10	32	56	2	100	52
About right	29	37	31	3	100	353
Not enough	35	38	25	2	100	305

economic and social pyramid. Two social processes were assumed to lie at the heart of the matter.

First, a government job we assumed was attractive for these groups because of the job security features that the public would attribute to government employment. The reasons given by the sample in the Detroit Area Study for preferring public employment in general over private employment were predominately based on this feature—73 per cent gave job security or job retirement benefits as their reasons for preferring government employment. The next most frequent response, 6 per cent, was that public personnel policies were fairer. On the other hand, red tape and bureaucratic and impersonal procedures were given as the main reasons by those who preferred private employment (26 per cent); almost as frequent a reason was "more opportunity for advancement" (21 per cent). These are entrepreneurial goals which one would expect to condition a preference for private employment.

Second, the other assumption for explaining the attractiveness of public employment was that the benefits distributed by the new government services—that is, what government actually does—would have an effect on the prestige of public employment. Despite the complexity of this problem, direct evidence was collected indicating that underlying attitudes toward the role of government (as opposed to mere partisanship) would be involved. By means of the following question, the public's conception of the proper sphere of government was investigated: "Some people think that the national government should do more in trying to deal with such problems as unemployment, education, housing, and so on. Others think that government is already doing

too much. On the whole, would you say that what the government has done has been about right, too much, or not enough."

From Table 7, the marked association between attitude on the proper sphere of government action and the individual's evaluation of the prestige value of public employment can be seen. Whereas 35 per cent of those who believed that government was not doing enough had high opinions of government employment, only 10 per cent of those who thought government was doing too much had similar favorable attitudes. Those who thought government was taking about the right amount of action had rather average attitudes toward public employment, whereas those groups who believed that government was doing too much had an overwhelmingly negative attitude. These data must be taken as indication that the services of government as they actually impinge on the public are conditioners of the prestige accorded to government employment.

In summary, research evidence indicates that since 1930 the prestige value of public employment has undergone a marked shift in the favorable direction. The groups that express highest evaluation of public employment continue to be those which Mr. White uncovered: the lower class, the lower status, and the lesser educated. In accounting for this upward trend in the prestige of public employment two probable explanations are offered: first, the increased importance of security as a goal in contemporary society; and second, the new services performed by government. While the trend toward higher prestige of government employment may well have reached a plateau, there is no reason to expect any sudden reversal of the present pattern of opinion in the near future.

# Technical Assistance: A Challenge to Public Administration

By ALBERT LEPAWSKY

*Professor of Political Science,  
University of California, Berkeley*

TECHNICAL assistance experts have learned one lesson during the last decade: stereotyped technical aid programs are inadvisable because underdeveloped countries differ markedly in their circumstances and needs. Nevertheless, the technical assistance programs now offered in public administration are still among the most standardized in the entire field of international technical aid. Although these programs are at present widely accepted as major instruments of economic development and social amelioration in underdeveloped countries, our successes may be short lived unless we inject more variation and imagination into the patterned programs of public administration we are now prescribing abroad.

The public administration of most underdeveloped countries faces two major problems to which we ought constantly to address ourselves: (1) there is a historic distrust of governmental institutions despite a growing dependence upon government, and consequently there is a widespread evasion of administrative authority; (2) a great burden of governmental formalism often paralyzes administrative action.

The first problem—the tendency toward popular evasion of administrative authority—arises, in part, from the regressive distribution of governmental benefits and burdens between the many poor and the few opulent which typifies underdeveloped societies. This distribution raises delicate internal questions which international public administration experts can approach only indirectly.

The second difficulty of public administration in underdeveloped countries—the traditional emphasis on administrative formalities—

can be dealt with more directly. The elaborate administrative formality of underdeveloped countries comes as a surprise to those who expect overly elaborate procedure to be a characteristic of mature rather than immature public administration. The fact is that underdeveloped countries often suffer from too much, not too little, of the "mechanics" of administration. This is in large part a consequence of a predilection in these countries—as a supposed safeguard against the unjust distribution of governmental favors—for procedural etiquette in place of substantive programs, for legalisms in lieu of legalities, and for petty accountability instead of operational responsibility.

These procedural difficulties offer a direct challenge to the art of public administration. And yet we are unfortunately so attached to our established repertoire of administrative techniques, especially those of us trained in United States forms of public administration, that the programs we prescribe abroad sometimes compound these evils of proceduralism.

In theory, more than in practice perhaps, international technical assistance programs have been designed for the solution of the twin problems of governmental distrust and administrative formality in underdeveloped countries. A pertinent approach to the subject was formulated in 1951 by the United Nations Special Committee on Public Administration Problems in its *Standards and Techniques of Public Administration with special reference to Technical Assistance for Underdeveloped Countries*. The *Standards* declared:

An effective system of public administration must be founded on a policy which tends to broaden the



range of personal freedom, economic and social opportunity, and political democracy. This norm may be regarded as a basic standard for good public administration, in spite of the fact that efficient techniques of administration have sometimes been installed by undemocratic political regimes or in highly stratified societies. . . .

. . . Public administration which is not directed toward the improvement of the material and cultural achievements of an increasing number of groups and individuals in the country, like economic assistance which pays no attention to the internal distribution of a growing national product, merely freezes the existing economic inequalities and social disabilities. . . .

In the final analysis, the principal support for an administrative system and for a system of administrative reform will derive from the most practical application of sound administrative principles—most practical in the sense of achieving results in support of the better life for more people. The devices and methods utilized in a sound administrative system are numerous. . . .

The degree to which a country marshals its governmental organization, its public finances, and its public personnel in order to achieve a purposeful management of its public affairs will depend on the prevailing theory and practice of administrative management at the higher levels of governmental control. . . .

However, the instruments of administrative management are of value only if they contribute to the accomplishment of programmes and priorities of a substantive nature and are of little use if they merely add to the existing administrative overhead already overburdened with unnecessary routines and procedures. . . . (pp. 9, 11, 12, 24)

#### *Public Administration Programs of International Agencies*

UNDER the impetus of this sort of philosophy, "public administration" has been officially placed on a par with "economic development" and "social welfare" in the UN's technical assistance program.<sup>1</sup> On the organizational side, within the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations the Public Administration Division has been the only "substantive" section to occupy the very top of TAA's organization chart, along with its staff or area directorates for planning and for operations.

<sup>1</sup> Walter R. Sharp, *International Technical Assistance* (Public Administration Service, 1952), pp. 68-70; Albert Lepawsky, "The Bolivian Operation," 479 *International Conciliation* 131-34 (March, 1952).

On the program side, this enthusiasm for public administration has been reflected in the fact that of nine UN technical assistance priorities listed as early as 1953 by the Technical Assistance Board (which represents the Specialized Agencies of the UN as well as the UN), the first priority is assigned to "Equipping governments for the formulation and implementation of development plans—Basic surveys of resources and building up of administrative services."<sup>2</sup>

The UN's Specialized Agencies have been concerned with problems of public administration over a long period of time, extending back to League of Nations days. Although the League itself was somewhat concerned with economic and especially industrial considerations in its early studies of the development problem,<sup>3</sup> a particular Specialized Agency, such as the International Labor Office, was more aware than was the League of the dependence of economic development upon improved public administration. Thus as early as the 1920's, the ILO began to provide technical advice and consultation services to member governments on the subject of labor administration as well as labor legislation.

Similarly, the post-World War II Specialized Agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization, have emphasized, in their respective substantive fields, technical assistance in administrative organization and budgeting, administrative management and procedures, administrative personnel and civil service. They have also helped in comprehensive surveys of the host country's substantive needs as a basis for the sound planning and programming of their special subject matter, thus interrelating administrative machinery with substantive planning.

A few—perhaps too few—of the earliest and most experienced technical assistance specialists recruited by the UN for its Expanded

<sup>2</sup> UN, ECOSOC, *Sixth Report of the Technical Assistance Board*, 18th Sess., Suppl. No. 4 E/2566 # E/TAC/REP. 3, 1954, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> League of Nations, *Industrialization and Foreign Trade*, Economic, Financial and Transit Department, Geneva, 1945. But as the preface to this work indicates, its purpose was "to consider the influence of the industrialization of relatively undeveloped areas on the foreign trade of the more industrially advanced countries," p. 5.

Technical Assistance Program (ETAP), starting in 1949, came from this background, and they were among the first to grasp the significance of public administration.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the newly recruited technical assistance experts brought into ETAP by the UN to supplement the older cadre of experts from the Specialized Agencies included some who combined a general interest in public administration with a subject matter orientation.<sup>5</sup> In particular missions, such persons were assigned to work on general economic surveys, specific resource planning problems, coordination of governmental programs across subject matter fields, and related questions of fiscal management including governmentwide budgeting, coordinated program planning, and also on financial or revenue administration. In fact, the earliest public administration assignments were apparently undertaken by international experts in fiscal administration dealing with governmental or "national budget" problems in the public sector of the economy of underdeveloped countries.<sup>6</sup>

Public administration has thus become somewhat of a priority field of international technical assistance. How high a priority it should occupy and with what specific emphasis it should be pursued are still unanswered questions. Proposed yardsticks which would more accurately measure the impact of economic development might be of some help here,<sup>7</sup> but at this stage we are compelled to depend more upon tests of prudence and informed judgment. Does each public administration project

help to spark or support economic and social development? Does it serve to eliminate undue formality in the administration of governmental programs in favor of direct administrative procedures? Does it genuinely contribute to the wider sharing of the benefits and costs of government? Does it have more relevance to purposeful development programs than other possible projects might have?<sup>8</sup>

It can be readily understood how, in underdeveloped countries where nation-building and economic development are proceeding simultaneously, capable individuals may prefer to devote themselves to lively issues of policy directly rather than to concentrate on mundane matters of management. Moreover, there is in underdeveloped societies a premium on controversial policies and politics at the center rather than concrete development programs on the regional frontier, in the provincial district, or at the local community level where more elementary opportunities are sometimes available for improved public administration.

Although this tendency to emphasize political policies and programs and to underemphasize management and mechanics may be deplored by students of public administration, those responsible for international assistance in this field would do well to accept it as one of the forceful facts in the life of underdeveloped countries. The opposite tendency of emphasizing mechanics at the expense of substantive programs may turn out to be the greater danger so far as underdeveloped societies go. Actually, those engaged in international technical assistance should constantly urge their opposite numbers in the host countries prudently to interrelate procedures and mechanics with programs and policies. This interrelating will be less difficult as we, in the United States, clarify some of our own rigid doctrine about the dichotomy between policy and administration.

Underdeveloped countries have not overly refined these distinctions in thinking about their problems of public administration. On

<sup>4</sup> This was the case in the Bolivian Mission. Lepawsky, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> This was the writer's experience as "fiscal expert" on the UN's early Bolivian Mission. UN Technical Assistance Administration, *Report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia ST/TAA/K/Bolivia/1*, 1951.

<sup>6</sup> UN, Department of Economic Affairs, *Technical Assistance for Economic Development Available through the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies* (1948), p. 90, *Sixth Report of the Technical Assistance Board*, p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> For example, average life span, average years of schooling, family income, average calorie consumption, amount of horsepower added to existing manpower, and national income ploughed back into investment. UN, TAA, *Standards and Techniques of Public Administration*, p. 28. The UN has recently requested social scientists for additional advice on techniques for evaluating technical assistance programs.

<sup>8</sup> In approving the revised UN public administration program on October 23, 1953, the General Assembly authorized the Secretary General to continue to allocate technical assistance funds, provided the projects were related to economic development of underdeveloped countries.

the contrary, since there is generally less conflict over basic doctrines in the national economy than developed countries can afford to engage in, and since there is a shortage of skill and leadership in underdeveloped countries, the native administrator is expected to participate more directly in the policy-making process. Administrators from the United States advising abroad should, in my judgment, not attempt to dissuade foreign administrators from accepting this responsibility merely out of deference to our own narrower doctrines of public administration. However, I would suppose that we do have the duty of advising our colleagues abroad on the methods by which their more extensive policy responsibilities might be carried out.

#### *The Content of the International Programs*

How far do these considerations actually determine the current course of international technical assistance programs in public administration? In the classification of projects used by the UN, public administration had by 1953 become the leading field of activity when measured in terms of expenditures. But this activity still appears to be a modest one—only about 5 per cent of the total—partly because the UN percentage is based upon formal project titles and partly because it excludes Specialized Agency projects.<sup>9</sup> When classified in terms of the actual project content instead of formal project title, it appears that from 10 to 15 per cent of the experts assigned by the UN and the Specialized Agencies have since 1952 been working in the field of public administration, strictly defined.

During the period from 1952 to 1954, about half of the administrative expertise made available by the UN was devoted to substantive functions calling for varying degrees of administrative reorganization and reform, including the *de novo* establishment of administrative machinery to take care of newly

assumed governmental functions. The remaining half was assigned to more traditional and technical administrative projects. These included: (1) projects dealing with financial, fiscal, revenue, or budgeting matters; (2) multifunctional administrative problems of organization and management; (3) top management problems beyond the usual O & M level, especially the basic surveying looking toward governmental programming and priorities in the resource or development field; (4) public personnel problems including civil service and training matters; and (5) rare projects dealing with "constitutional" questions such as central-provincial relationships.<sup>10</sup>

Further analysis of the content and the progress of these projects indicates that the UN has valiantly, but not always successfully, attempted to stay on the original track laid down by its Committee on Standards and by some of its earliest missions touching on the subject of public administration. One of the most unique UN undertakings was the Bolivian operation following the comprehensive survey made by the Keenleyside Mission to Bolivia in 1950. Besides formulating recommendations in the economic and social fields on a wide front, the mission recommended a priority attack on the public administration of the country as a whole. As a result of subsequent UN-Bolivian agreements, UN personnel now serve in Bolivia as international technicians in the usually selected substantive fields, and other experts, in their capacity of internationally recruited Bolivian civil servants, serve as consultants in the key ministries. One of the posts provided for under the UN-Bolivian agree-

<sup>9</sup> This analysis was derived from a tabulation of the total number of experts assigned during the years 1952 and 1953 and the number contemplated for 1954. Of a total of 3,806 such "assignments," 474 were classified as being broadly within the public administration category. Of these, 196 dealt with substantive governmental fields which apparently called for newly reorganized administrative mechanisms, 105 with financial and fiscal problems, 68 with multifunctional problems of organization and methods, 53 with what might be called top management (including over-all planning and substantive programming) problems, 46 with personnel and training matters, and 6 with mildly "constitutional" problems, largely those relating to central-local relations. UN, ECOSOC, *Fifth and Sixth Reports of the Technical Assistance Board*, 16th Sess., Suppl., No. 10 E/2433, 1953; 18th Sess., Suppl. No. 4, 1954.

<sup>10</sup> *Sixth Report of the Technical Assistance Board*, p. 253. "Distribution by field of activity of obligations incurred in 1953 and estimated 1954 obligations for 1954 approved programme." The contending fields according to the UN tabulation were very close: civil aviation—5.1 per cent; manufacturing, processing, and mining—5.0 per cent; fundamental education—4.9 per cent; land and water use—4.1 per cent.

ment was that of a general consultant on public administration to work out of the office of the President of the Republic. This unusual international technical assistance project in the field of public administration has gone forward in Bolivia in workmanlike fashion. Even, or perhaps especially, under the revolutionary shift in political power which occurred in this country in 1952, the project has exceeded the fondest hopes—and fears—of those who initiated it.<sup>11</sup>

Such a delicate foray into the internal workings of the public administration of a member country is not one that can be readily repeated. Nevertheless, there have been similar developments on UN projects, even without such formal agreement, in Jordan and Ecuador, and in other Latin American and Middle Eastern countries. When circumstances and personalities fall into a favorable pattern, public administration technicians are thus called upon to act on subjects involving over-all management or policy formulation without waiting upon formal agreement of the UN-Bolivian type.

At another level of UN undertakings in the public administration field are those which provide assistance upon questions of organization and methods. In Libya, for example, UN experts have been advising on a miscellany of related topics, including the organization of administrative systems, the installation of administrative procedures, the management of supplies and equipment, and the establishment of staff training schemes. Another proposed project of this type deals with the establishment of a department of organization and methods in Burma.

Is the proposal for an O & M department in Burma too "mechanistic" a project or is the installation of a system of supplies and equipment management in Libya too "procedural" an enterprise for an international technical assistance program?<sup>12</sup> A categorical answer is

<sup>11</sup> Carter Goodrich, "Bolivia: Test of Technical Assistance," 32 *Foreign Affairs* 473-81 (April, 1954); H. L. Keenleyside, "Administrative Problems of the Technical Assistance Administration," 18 *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 345-57 (August, 1952); "Principles Governing Technical Assistance Programs," 26 *Canadian Welfare* 3-8 (Jan. 15, 1951); and Lepawsky, "The Bolivian Operation," *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> In India, a recently established Organization and Methods Division has been attached to the Prime

Minister's Secretariat. This was recommended by Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey* (New Delhi, The President's Press, 1953), pp. 13-14. 8. Appleby nevertheless rated India "among the dozen or so most advanced governments in the world."

hazardous, since there is such a complex of local circumstances which might make apparently over-technical installations quite advisable in some underdeveloped countries. However, before recommending such projects, it would seem to be advisable to recall the main evils of public administration in underdeveloped countries: the expenditure of effort on unessential activities, the application of largesse where it is least needed, and the utilization of irrelevant procedures in an overly formalistic society.

A developing country may well need an institutionalized O & M program or a controlled supplies and equipment inventory, especially if these systems are designed modestly and without too much gadgetry. Sometimes this technical type of assistance program appeals to the governments of underdeveloped countries and provides an immediate opening for a continuing broader technical assistance program. Before assigning priorities to such projects, however, there should if possible be some assurance that program-centered development undertakings of higher priority are not being neglected and that the tendency toward tangentialism which is a common characteristic of underdeveloped public administration is not being indulged. And it should be borne in mind that there is always the risk of disillusioning those who may have been led to expect immediate and demonstrable results, thus wearing out the welcome which has lately been offered to the discipline of public administration in the international technical assistance field.

As a matter of fact, students of public administration may well ask, along with their critics from such fields as cultural anthropology, whether a headlong attack on the administrative mechanisms of an underdeveloped society can be as fruitful as the changing of administrative habits in the course of longer-range economic reforms, social changes, or other mutations in public affairs. A healthy skepticism about this question among administrative specialists might encourage them to

Minister's Secretariat. This was recommended by Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey* (New Delhi, The President's Press, 1953), pp. 13-14. 8. Appleby nevertheless rated India "among the dozen or so most advanced governments in the world."



be on the alert for the more "transmissible" administrative patterns. These patterns may be more readily discovered in the course of substantive or program undertakings than as part of a bold general public administration program.

#### *International Training for Public Administration*

THERE is apparently a consensus that an underdeveloped country can be better guided toward sustained development by means of personnel training programs for technicians and civil servants. The UN reflected this view from the outset by emphasizing training centers and training projects in various fields including public administration.<sup>13</sup> There is already a considerable body of international alumni from these projects, consisting of UN fellows and scholars trained especially in the U. S. under ETAP. These persons are now at work in their home countries, and their improved skills and morale have had a positive impact on the development process in some areas. Next to functional fields like agriculture, welfare, health, education, and labor affairs, public administration has been the field to which UN fellows and scholars have been most frequently assigned.<sup>14</sup> Under U. S. training programs, public administration has been given an equal or greater emphasis. In fact, "internships" in public administration for foreign personnel were made available through the U. S. Bureau of the Budget before the general international technical assistance program was conceived.<sup>15</sup>

Highly constructive though these programs

may have been, there is some danger of over-training in U. S. personnel and comparable procedures. Some of our universities, now under contract with technical aid authorities, have continued to strengthen their curriculums in public administration without having sufficiently reconsidered the peculiar emphasis which we in the U. S. give to the adjective procedures of budgeting, personnel, planning, organization, and methods. In public personnel matters, for example, some of our visiting fellows, scholars, and interns are painfully aware from their recent sojourns here that we have by no means sufficiently solved our own civil service problems to be able to tell them how to get to the roots of theirs.

The curriculum question is now being tested further in the UN-sponsored, and in part U.S.-staffed, schools of public administration which have been established to serve specific regions with training facilities. These include the Brazilian School at Rio de Janeiro, the Central American School at San José, the Turkish Institute at Ankara, and the Egyptian Institute at Cairo. Of these, the Brazilian School started with a strong emphasis on administrative techniques while the Turkish Institute has adopted a curriculum of broader orientation.

As in other issues relating to international assistance, the way in which a technical training project is executed will determine its value, no matter how widely or narrowly the scope of its subject matter may have been formulated. Thus a UN-sponsored Libyan School of Public Administration set up in Tripoli in 1953 confined itself during its first year to teaching accountancy to civil servants. But there are various kinds of accountancy. Most important for the improvement of the public administration of underdeveloped countries is the kind which enables "public" accountants to weed out the many voucher copies, the duplicating journals, the endless countersignatures, and the many high-level initiallings from which their systems suffer. Especially should they learn what they are seldom taught, namely how to distinguish the accountancy procedures designed to prevent petty defalcation from the essential financial allocation procedures which can be used as an instrument of

<sup>13</sup> See UN, ECOSOC, "Establishment of an International Centre for Training in Public Administration," E/610/Rev. 1, Feb. 18, 1948. Brazil deserves the credit for having sponsored this project.

<sup>14</sup> Of a total of 451 and 792 and 251 fellows or scholars appointed under the extended program in the financial periods 1950-51, 1951-52, 1953-54, there were respectively, 57 and 197 and 34 classified with public administration. UN, ECOSOC, TAB, *Fourth Report*, Vol. 1 E/2215, 1952, p. 199; *Fifth Report*, 1953, pp. 13, 16; *Sixth Report*, 1954, p. 264 ff.

<sup>15</sup> This elaborate program has since been taken over by the U. S. International Cooperation Administration. The number of foreign personnel trained (from periods of one to twelve months) was 230 in 1954, 385 in 1955, and is expected to rise to 475 in 1956.

purposeful programming by the government.<sup>16</sup>

If we continue to encourage international public administration training programs to go in for new courses which cover some still-to-be-substantiated fashions of our system of administration in the U.S., we should not be surprised at occasional disappointment. One of the recent enthusiasms at the Brazilian School of Public Administration has been a course in public relations.<sup>17</sup> I hope it is taught with discretion, for prudence would seem to suggest that this subject should be one of the last priorities for the improvement of public administration in this ebullient country. In all countries, including our own, the best public relations is effective relations with the public in rendering day-by-day services "over the counter"; important also is the periodic reporting of results to the public. But beyond this, "public relations" can readily deteriorate into propaganda. Public relations both inside and outside the government have not yet been put within sufficiently manageable bounds in the U.S. for us to urge this subject upon countries still striving to establish a solid foundation for their systems of public administration.

#### *Continuing Institutions for Administrative Improvement*

PUBLIC administration teaching and research, institutionalized as part of the permanent structure of higher education in underdeveloped countries, offers a promising opportunity for development. Largely under the stimulus of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration and predecessor agencies, there have been established in various countries educational curriculums and research institutes. Some of these, like the Institute of Public Administration at the University of the Philippines, represent a promising long-range development of educational machinery for administrative consultation and improvement. These programs have emphasized in-service or pre-service courses and research services which

individual countries are expected to absorb into the existing structure of their system of higher and professional education in order to provide a solid and continuing influence on public administration.

Within the evolving systems of higher education, it is possible that some of the most telling and lasting influences will come not from concrete courses or specialized curriculums in public administration but from general education courses for blossoming young administrators or from executive development courses of a generalized nature for more experienced administrators in the underdeveloped countries. Few experienced teachers of public administration in the United States will confidently assert that over the years they have been able to get better results from the presentation of technical bread-and-butter materials in public administration than from an incisive or inspirational consideration of the role and the importance of public administration, that contains some, but not too many, dramatic examples of the major types of administrative practices in the fields of budgeting, personnel management, planning, or O & M.

This suggests that there may also be much merit in *ad hoc* international seminars or workshops of short duration, largely for in-service training purposes. Limited resources and the short time available for demonstrable progress in international technical assistance may in the future make it necessary to choose between long-range educational programs and shorter training seminars in public administration. Ideally, if resources remain available, we should look forward to the continuing development of national or regional training centers and to the simultaneous fostering of regional or international workshops. But practically, it may be necessary increasingly to emphasize the shorter programs.

Devoted to the clarification of major substantive and managerial problems and designed to serve selected members of or aspirants for the public service in underdeveloped countries, several special international seminars have met at the call of the UN or the Specialized Agencies. The Seminar on Public Personnel Administration at Lake Success in 1951 produced certain principles of general guidance on this subject. The International Sem-

<sup>16</sup> UN, *Report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia*, 1951, pp. 22-24; Lynton K. Caldwell, "Technical Assistance and Administrative Reform in Colombia," 47 *American Political Science Review* 494-510 (June, 1953).

<sup>17</sup> "Public Relations in Administration" (editorial), *Progress in Public Administration* (April, 1954), 1-2.

inar on Essentials of Administration at Istanbul in 1953 performed a similar function. The Seminar on General Public Administration Problems held at Rio de Janeiro in 1952 also dealt with problems of general administrative interest.

Perhaps some of the most pertinent results or materials have emerged from regional seminars or workshops attempting to elucidate administrative principles in specific fields which have a maximum impact on the development process. Thus, the Workshop on Budgetary Classification, conducted by the Fiscal Division of the UN at Mexico City in 1953, and that on Natural Resource Development, Administration, and Execution, conducted at the Latin-American Training Center at Santiago de Chile in 1951, seem to have produced an inspiring body of general administrative principles with some attention to concretely applicable procedures.

A similar body of materials resulted from the Seminar on Organization and Administration of Public Enterprises in the Industrial Field, held at Rangoon in 1954 under the joint sponsorship of the UN and the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. This seminar devoted its early sessions to the moot question of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of public and private enterprises, but its deliberations also resulted in the outlining in some detail of the practical "industrial" management problems faced in common by public and private administration in underdeveloped situations.

It would appear that there are now in progress governmental enterprises in underdeveloped countries which will soon be sufficiently over the hump to offer select materials for subsequent seminars in this field. If these experiences and the seminars based on them can help to pin-point the key decisions—both substantive and managerial—and how they were arrived at and with what success, the results could be stimulating. Certainly such seminars would offer meaty materials for the junior administrators, for the high-level executives and technicians, and, in some cases, for the ministerial chiefs from the underdeveloped countries who have shown a readiness to attend these international seminars.

That the experiences selected for interna-

tional transplanting need not be limited to management mechanisms at the expense of wider public administration subject matter is suggested in the analysis of the "Scope and Content of Administrative Decision" in the Tennessee Valley authority,<sup>18</sup> a United States administrative agency which has long been an internationally accepted model for government enterprises in underdeveloped countries. In the TVA, administration has always been program-centered, and basic management patterns have spanned the usual dichotomy separating adjective administration from substantive policy. Budgeting in the TVA is planning, planning is done by those responsible for operations, personnel management includes the constant clarification and transmission of TVA policy, and O & M though widely practiced is almost unheard of in these terms. Many of the overseas alumni of TVA in-service training programs, who are now at work in public enterprises of their own countries, understand the TVA pattern of public administration and have already had some experience in applying it at home. It is by means of this approach that we may encounter the more relevant and more meaningful precepts of public administration for use in international aid programs, and also for more fruitful domestic application in the United States.

International professional organizations, such as the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, have also been collaborating in the process of transmitting approved practices of public administration to underdeveloped countries. Since 1950 the UN has been contracting with this organization for the production of relevant documentation, principally on O & M and personnel practices. In 1953, with the support of the USFOA and the UNTAA, IIAS also began publishing the quarterly *Progress in Public Administration*, which is one of the few available periodicals devoted to international technical cooperation.<sup>19</sup> It provides helpful listings of current

<sup>18</sup> Lawrence L. Durisch and Robert E. Lowry, "Scope and Content of Administrative Decision—the TVA Illustration," 13 *Public Administration Review* 219-26 (Autumn, 1953).

<sup>19</sup> The forerunner to this publication was a "house-organ" sheet begun in September, 1950, by the UN, TAA, under the title of *Fortnightly Bulletin*. Another special publication in the technical assistance field is

programs in international public administration, news about assignments and transfers of international experts, selected bibliographical references, and progress reports on specific technical assistance projects.

Such reports, frequently contributed from various national sources, are informative, but there is a tendency toward editorialized approval of projects in these reports that reduces the prospects of effective evaluation. The resources are too few, the time is too short, and the stakes are too high for a uniformly uncritical appraisal of projects in the international technical assistance field. Perhaps something in the way of more discriminating criticism of results can be offered both domestically and internationally by national societies, institutes, or associations devoted to public administration, such as the recently established Indian Institute of Public Administration.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Guides for International Programs in Administration*

NATIONAL outlook remains a major determinant of international aid programs, and this is true both on the granting and on the receiving side. We are therefore led in the field of public administration to try to complete the circle and come face to face with our own habits of work and thought.

The present scope and quality of international technical assistance in public administration has been largely influenced by the fact that the U.S. has furnished a large number of technical experts in this field and has been the major source of funds for the UNETAP program and the exclusive source for the USICA program. While these facts have tended to exaggerate the emphasis upon administrative mechanics, in conformity with the prevailing U.S. conception of public administration, it is well to note that the existing emphasis has not been purely a result of official compulsion. It is mainly a product of our own professional

predilections. If the kind of public administrative advice being offered under U.S. influence to underdeveloped countries today is too mechanistic, few are to blame except our own public administration specialists and scholars.

Our political leadership in the international field finds itself in somewhat the same position as many of our business leaders, who often plead for more creative imagination in the economic world. They, too, find that they are victims of administrative over-specialization and have to entrust their personnel recruitment, executive development, and administrative improvement programs to personnel technicians, training experts, and management specialists reluctant to deviate from the prevailing devices and doctrines.

In the sweep of recent international programs, practitioners and professors of public administration in the U.S. have already become more cognizant of the need for critical evaluation of the scope and content of their own discipline. As students of U.S. public administration have assumed more of the responsibility for helping to construct systems of public administration within the evolving constitutional framework of developing countries, and for assisting these countries to arrive at priorities among alternative projects and policies, they have become more daring in deviating from their own restricted doctrines of public administration. Never before have there been so many professional meetings on comparative public administration, nor has there been such a readiness to reevaluate assumptions about the scope of public administration in technical discussions of public administration. Even with regard to the administration of domestic affairs in the U.S. there now is a growing realization of the importance of program planning and program management in the substantive fields.

The public administration part of the U.S. international assistance program made a good start in this direction during World War II with the program-centered but management-cognizant *servicios* established by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs.<sup>21</sup> To some of the

*Economic Development and Cultural Change*, published by the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, The University of Chicago.

<sup>20</sup> Appleby, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. The Ford Foundation, which made Dean Appleby's services available to the Government of India, has also made a grant to the Government of Pakistan for help to be furnished through Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration to the National Planning Board.

<sup>21</sup> The significance and the future of the *servicios* was commented upon early in *The Program of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, D. C., The Institute, 1949), pp. 6-8. The cooperative type of



experienced subject matter specialists of the IIAA it may therefore seem anticlimactic to learn, as reported in *Progress in Public Administration* in 1954, that, thanks to newly assigned public administration advisers in one aided country, "production of privies increased approximately 110% . . . with no increase in the number of employees and an increase of 30% in wages."<sup>22</sup>

Basic programs of substance have not been entirely neglected in some of the aided countries. As early as 1947 President Truman had included "assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians," in that order, in the strategic Greek aid program.<sup>23</sup> From then on, U.S. assistance in public administration, including various substantive fields, was unstinting in Greece. U.S. personnel were fearless, too, in attacking problems of regressive taxation and even electoral reform. U.S. technical assistance delved pretty far into the "public administration" of an assisted country's affairs when Ambassador Peurifoy advised the Greeks in 1952 that their proportional representation system would have "the inevitable consequence of continuing governmental instability."<sup>24</sup>

In spite of many successes, the U.S. public administration program has been consuming a smaller percentage of ICA's total resources for international technical assistance than does the UN's public administration program within ETAP.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the U.S. program recognizes similar problems which underline the

service has also begun to appear in the Middle East. Jonathan B. Bingham, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy; Point 4 in Action* (John Day, 1954), p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> *Progress in Public Administration*, February 1954, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> U. S., Department of State, *Bulletin*, Vol. 16, No. 405, March 23, 1947, p. 534. See also Secretary of State Dean Acheson's statement in *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate on an Act for International Development* (81st Cong., 2d sess., March 30, 1950), p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *The New York Times*, March 15, 1952, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Public administration had a stated priority in the Mutual Security Administration (ICA) program of seventh. In fact, public administration's ranking on the basis of funds spent or allocated for it in fiscal years 1952, 1953, and 1954 is approximately the same, except in Latin America where in the last fiscal year it has moved up into fifth position. U. S., MSA, *Technical Cooperation Administration, Proposed Program for Fiscal Year 1954* (mimeo.). For a comprehensive comparison of the U. S.

dangers of overspecialization. As in the UN program, the expressed U.S. aid policy in the public administration field is broader gauged than its practice. Policy directives caution the U.S. experts that "public administration means much more than techniques and gadgets," and they are advised that "public administration techniques and methods are not to be applied blindly," since "the genius of America is not in techniques and gadgets as such . . . it is in the attitude which says in effect 'Let's find out what will work in this particular situation and then let's do it.'"<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps there should be an added warning in regard to the U.S. program—that even devices that work should not be installed if they are not wise for the time and place concerned or if they are less essential than alternative projects. Although this sense of timing and priority is often reflected in U.S. policy directives concerning technical assistance programming, it is sometimes honored in the breach.

It is not always easy, of course, to determine when a mere procedural program may be justified by high-level policy considerations. There is one small underdeveloped republic suffering greatly from obvious management problems in substantive fields like resources in which some of the President's correspondence was misfiled. Somehow he got wind of one of our own latest administrative achievements, namely the "records management program." The result was a fairly elaborate aid project for that country executed by one of our most capable U.S. records experts, who put on an effective in-service training course which turned out to be extremely well attended (partly, he suspected, because it was given on office time). The carbon copy question and the related records problem were no doubt important to this country, but was it as pressing, at this stage in its development, as alternative programs consuming equal technical assistance resources might have been?

and UN management of technical assistance affairs see Walter R. Sharp, "The Institutional Framework for Technical Assistance; A Comparative Review of UN and U. S. Experience," 7 *International Organization* 342-79 (August, 1953).

<sup>26</sup> U. S., Department of State, *Technical Cooperation Administration, First Comprehensive Policy Statement*, January, 1953 (mimeo.).

There are many opportunities in the field of public administration for starting and sustaining development programs in the underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, international technical assistance offers a most dramatic opportunity for the dissemination of the rational arts of administration, not only among the underdeveloped countries but also in the reflexive impact upon the more developed countries themselves. The significance for peaceful change of a deliberate program of international technical assistance in public administration cannot, therefore, be overemphasized.

But the opportunity can be properly ex-

ploited only if there is a finer sense of selecting and interrelating the various projects of economic development, social welfare, and public administration. The responsibility rests upon national as well as international personnel, and, in large measure, upon those coming from the field of U.S. public administration. If we wish to accept the challenge, we should (1) relate technical assistance projects more directly to programs designed to widen economic opportunity and ameliorate social problems in the underdeveloped countries; and (2) exercise more skill and greater prudence in distinguishing between the incidental and the fundamental in practicing the art of administration.

#### Pyfgcrl vs. Qwertyuiop

Government typists are testing a new keyboard which, it is hoped, will save the taxpayers' \$\$\$.

One of the touchiest experiments of our time is now going on in Washington. There, twelve typists picked from ten Federal agencies are banging away on a scientifically simplified typewriter keyboard that differs radically from the one on some 6,000,000 typewriters in the nation. Some weeks from now, these typists will be "raced" against twelve others using the old keyboard.

It's all being done in the hope of spacing out the taxpayers' money. The inventor of the simplified keyboard insists it can tremendously increase office efficiency and save millions of dollars all over the place. If the test bears out his claim, the Government may gradually adopt the simplified keyboard and industry might follow suit. . . .

Just what, you might ask, is wrong with the standard keyboard everybody uses now? Not much to get keyed up about, certainly, if you're content to hunt and peck with two fingers. But to the motion-study engineer, observing a touch typist's ten fingers fly, the standard keyboard is an affront indeed—a marvel of inefficiency.

The typical typist, he'd say, hits 46,000 letters every day—making her fingertips travel a total distance of twelve to twenty miles. Teach her the simplified keyboard, and she'll reach the same number of letters just as often, but in doing so her fingertips will travel only one mile.

If pressed for details, he'll explain that the standard keyboard requires far more flitting up and down from row to row than is necessary. . . . It overloads the weaker fingers and the entire left hand. . . . When these faults combine in the cases of 3,300 fairly common words, one of which is "federated," the left hand is forced into a flurry of up-and-down motion, while the right does nothing. Conversely, the right hand must do all the work on 500 words, one of which is "minimum"—a word Government typists are likely to meet often in its Federalese form, "minimize." . . .

—Peter T. White, *The New York Times Magazine*, January 22, 1956, p. 18.

# Management Development at Kelly Air Force Base

By MAJOR GENERAL THETUS C. ODOM

*Kelly Air Force Base, Texas*

*Commander, San Antonio Air Materiel Area*

**D**URING the past four or five years a great deal of excitement has been generated about management development. A veritable flood of books has been written, and industry and government organizations alike have burgeoned with appraisal plans, replacement plans, inventories, and spirited arguments over the relative merits of in-plant versus off-reservation training. All of a sudden—or at least so it seems—the development of its own members has become a prime concern of almost every management group.

It is well that management is concerned. In private industry since World War II the costs of labor, equipment, and materials have gone steadily upward. For a few years, of course, most industries were able to meet these rising costs by price increases. They are no longer able to do so. We are rapidly getting into a consumer's market in all commodities, and during the past year or so industry has begun to find that a rise in its prices results in a decline of its sales. Impaled upon the horns of this cost-price dilemma, industry has found the only possible solution to be better management.

Government agencies—the Air Force—Kelly Air Force Base—face an almost identical situation. On the one hand there is a public demand for more and stronger airpower. On the other hand there is public demand for lower taxes. Putting these demands together, we find that we are expected to produce more airpower with fewer dollars. Government's answer, like industry's, can only be better management.

However, it is not just recently that Air Force people have become excited about man-

agement development. Kelly Air Force Base has been in the management development business since 1939. In that year the nation as a whole first began to build up its defenses and the Air Force began the growth that was to raise it from a branch of the Army to the position of first place among our forces. And in that year the first supervisor training program was put into operation at Kelly.

It is said that great things come from small beginnings. Today we have an integrated management development program that includes virtually every member of management at Kelly. There is a training program for first-line foremen and their understudies, a management development program for middle managers, and an Executive Development Program for people in top positions.

In 1939 we set out simply to train first-line supervisors to do a better job. We had no long-range program in mind. We had only a problem of immediate necessity.

With the coming of the war in Europe, all our defense establishments began to expand. Kelly expanded. It expanded so far and so fast that experienced workers could serve only as a nucleus around which to build the new organization. A great many of them were quickly made supervisors to lead and instruct newly hired workers. It was not long before there were almost as many supervisors as there had previously been employees.

The hundreds of new-made supervisors entered upon the task of management unprepared. They were excellent craftsmen, but the problem was to train them as rapidly as possible to become good managers as well.

So we embarked on a very ambitious pro-

gram. We proposed to train all supervisors in the four most important management areas—job management, work simplification, job instruction, and employee relations. We proposed to do this by sending them all to a twenty-hour conference course, Primary Management.

During and after the years of World War II, it was found advisable to change and progressively to expand the basic supervisor training program. We discovered that supervisor training paid off, so we began to do more of it. The Primary Management course was revised and extended—first to thirty hours, then to forty. Supplementary courses were added—in personnel procedures, quality control, accident prevention, and production management. Between 1939 and the present, thousands of foremen have been trained in all aspects of their work.

Until 1952, supervisor training was the only planned program Kelly had in the field of management development. Such development work for higher management as was undertaken was in bits and pieces—a class now and then or an occasional tour of rotational training. The main reason for this concentration on first-line foremen training was that there was always a backlog of these people needing training.

But in 1952, we finally caught up and had time to take a considered look at Kelly's management development needs. Once we looked at our program critically, we found that there was a large hole in it: in our concentration on foreman training we had been neglecting higher management.

In the Air Force, more than in most industry, there is always a need for people to fill management positions. In addition to a normal need for replacements, defense industries like Kelly have a recurring emergency need. When an international crisis—like the Berlin Airlift—arises, Kelly expands very rapidly. When the crisis is over, Kelly's strength is cut. Such recurring situations make great demands on the organization and especially on its management.

The combination of normal and recurring emergency needs makes it necessary to have a pool of executive talent available to meet all eventualities. Each man in this pool must be

developed to near the top of his capacity. Plans must also be made against an uncertain future. Whenever a management job materializes, we should have a specific person ready to step into it. Meanwhile, we should constantly try to improve the performance of our managers in the jobs that they have, so that their work is done better, faster, and at less cost.

In the summer of 1952, J. Walter Sherman of Kelly's Civilian Personnel Office visited several industrial firms in the East and Middle West to observe personnel practices. He noted that these firms were giving a great deal of attention to management development and that most of them had some kind of development program. He returned to Kelly with the germ of a plan for a program to meet Kelly's needs. From that germ, through the efforts of many people, the Kelly Management Development Program has been built. The program has four integrated phases—appraisal, inventory, replacement planning, and individual development.

In the first phase—appraisal—our managers are evaluated as a necessary prelude to development. Through appraisal, we determine of each man in the program: How good is his present performance? What are his outstanding assets? In what does he need development? How soon can he be made ready for promotion? What is his potential—how far can he go?

In inventory, the second phase, the results of all individual appraisals are gathered together and summarized on an inventory board. On the board appears the name of each person in the program, his title, his civil service grade, and his age. Color codes show his appraisal ratings on present performance, promotability, and potential. By looking at this board, top management people can see what is available to Kelly in the way of management talent.

The third phase of the program is replacement planning. Using the appraisal results, the most promising management people are selected to be developed as potential replacements for key executive positions. Two or more potential replacements are selected for each position.

The fourth and most important phase of the program is development. It is only through development that the sum total of available



managerial resources can be increased; and to increase these resources is the only logical reason for establishing a Management Development Program.

There are four concepts that govern the conduct of the development phase of the Kelly program. We believe they are necessary in any workable program.

1. *Development must be planned.* Some authorities have objected to formal programs such as Kelly's because, they say, there tends to be too much emphasis on tools, methods, and procedures and too little concern about people. This has undoubtedly happened in some programs, but where it has the fault usually does not lie with the program but with the people responsible for administering it. Tools and techniques must, of course, be kept in proper perspective; they are not ends in themselves, but they are necessary.

2. *Further, development should be individually planned.* The qualities, abilities, and aptitudes of each person are different. Each person has different development needs. No single program of development will result in a managerial product of standard excellence. Too, the goals and interests of individuals differ. Some of them require special attention because their names appear on replacement tables. Others have different needs because they work in different fields: the development plan of a man whose career will be in Kelly's industrial shops will necessarily differ in some ways from that of a man whose future lies in the comptroller function.

3. *Development means more than training.* In point of fact, no program can develop executives; executives must develop themselves. They must bring to the job the basic abilities necessary to leadership, and they must have the energy and the initiative to apply and increase their talents. However, management should provide encouragement, opportunity, and guidance. In such a program training has its place, but it is far from the whole answer.

4. *Everyone in the program is entitled to opportunity for development.* One of the dangers of a formalized management development program is that it may produce a "crown prince" philosophy among its members and those who administer it. This will happen if the appraisal, inventory, and replacement

planning phases are regarded as devices for the selection of "hot shots" on whom all development effort is to be concentrated. If this happens it cannot but result in justifiable resentment and lowered morale among those not selected, who are, after all, in the majority. Further, it appears to us that the "crown prince" system violates the prime aim of a good program, which should be to improve the performance of members in jobs they now hold. In the Kelly program, therefore, the policy is equal development opportunity for those who do not at present figure in replacement planning as well as for those who do.

In the individual development phase of the Kelly program, every effort is made to adhere to these four concepts. Each program member has his own formal individual development plan based on the development needs revealed by his appraisal and the needs of management brought out by inventory and replacement planning. Each plan is worked out by the member and his boss in conference, and no plan is final until both are satisfied.

Each plan is aimed at development rather than simply at training. There's a difference. What we want to do is to promote the growth of the whole man—to promote an increase in his total ability and to encourage him to use his ability to its fullest extent. Training is one means of doing this, and we have provided for all types of training that we know—classroom training, rotational training, plant visits, and off-reservation training at other installations or at colleges and universities. By far the major emphasis, however, is on self-development. Coaching is specified on almost every individual development plan to point out in what ways the member needs to improve and to suggest how he may improve himself. Bibliographies of books on management subjects have been published for the guidance of personnel in the program. Some program members are assigned to work on special management committees. All are encouraged to work actively in the Kelly Management Club and in civic, social, and professional organizations. Local colleges offer night classes which many program members are attending on their own time and at their own expense. Others are taking correspondence courses at home.

Each year the entire Management Develop-

ment Program gets a complete overhaul through review procedure. Appraisals are re-made, inventory is brought up to date, replacement plans are reviewed and changed where necessary, and a new development plan is made for each member to reflect his progress and his changing needs.

The Kelly Management Development Program has now been operating for more than three years. In the beginning it was an Executive Development Program which included all of our top civilian executives. A few months later, it was extended to include members of middle management. At the present time the program covers the approximately 160 people who hold top executive positions and approximately 900 middle managers in seven of our major organizational components.

Here are the dividends of the program thus far:

1. There is now available complete and exact information on what Kelly has in the way of executive talent and potential.
2. There now exists a definite and logically constructed plan to fill such managerial vacancies as can be foreseen with competent men when the need arises.
3. The appraisal procedure has uncovered problem areas common to groups of people in the program so that necessary group training can be intelligently planned and provided.
4. Everyone in the program now knows exactly how he stands in relation to his job and exactly what he must do to develop himself

for greater responsibility. He is therefore able to channel his energies in self-development. Also, management now knows what individual training is required and can plan to provide it.

Since early 1953, the big effort and the big emphasis at Kelly has been in the field of executive and middle management development. During the next few years, emphasis will probably continue to be in this field. However, the first-line foremen and lower echelon supervisors have not been forgotten.

Training of new supervisors—and all others who need additional training—has continued and will continue. The concept of development as something more than training has been extended into the work done with these levels. Means are being found to spot promising management material among workers, and programs are being provided to develop such people.

No organization can be stronger than its management. No management can afford to be strong at one level and weak at another. And no one level of management can be strong that has serious weaknesses among its individual members. Any program, therefore, which intends to strengthen management must include all management, top to bottom. That is the goal of the program at Kelly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> More detailed information on the Kelly program may be found in the booklet, *Management Development Program*, which may be obtained from Commander, San Antonio Air Materiel Area, Kelly Air Force Base, Texas.

# A Delegation of Federal Disbursing Functions

By FRANK J. McKENNA

*Chief Executive Officer  
U. S. Railroad Retirement Board*

A NEW approach to handling check-disbursing functions in the federal government is currently being put to test, with the Railroad Retirement Board serving as the "proving ground." The basis for the idea was the belief that substantial savings in both time and money would be achieved if the check-disbursing operations performed by the Treasury Department for those agencies which issue repetitive benefit payments or a large volume of single payments could be decentralized.

The idea started in September, 1952, when a survey group was set up at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives to study the check-disbursing operations performed by the Treasury Department for the Railroad Retirement Board in the payment of retirement benefits. The survey group consisted of representatives of the staff of the House Appropriations Committee, the General Accounting Office, and the Treasury Department. However, studies indicating the potential savings of such a program had been made by the board itself as far back as 1947.

The Railroad Retirement Board, an independent agency of the federal government, located in Chicago, Illinois, is charged with the administration of a system of social insurance for the nation's railroad workers. The board derives its authority from two laws—the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Under the Railroad Retirement Act, benefits are paid to aged and permanently disabled employees and their wives, and to the widows, widowers, children, and parents of deceased employees. This

benefit program is to all intents and purposes self-supporting, being maintained by taxes collected in equal shares from the railroads and their employees. The taxes for the retirement system are collected by the Internal Revenue Service under a third law—the Railroad Retirement Tax Act—and are credited to a special Treasury account designated as the railroad retirement account.

Under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, benefits are paid to railroad employees who are unemployed or temporarily disabled. The costs of these programs are paid entirely from contributions collected by the board from the railroads.

In terms of the number of people served and the amount of money involved, the board's programs are not nearly so large as the general social security system; but the types of protection are much more comprehensive. The board pays benefits to about 1,000,000 persons a year. In the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1955, well over 1,000,000 people drew benefits totaling \$750,000,000. A majority of these beneficiaries received repetitive monthly payments.

The mission assigned to the survey group was restricted to the development of necessary cost and procedural data in both the administrative agency and the Treasury. It had no decision-making authority. Specifically, the phases which the group was directed to study fell into three important categories, as follows:

1. Any reductions in costs which could be achieved under the existing system, in which the disbursing operations were centered in the Treasury. This phase was necessary from the point of view of establishing an adequate basis

against which to compare further possibilities for saving through physical consolidation of operations.

2. Savings, added costs, and other advantages or disadvantages which would be realized if the total operation was physically moved into the Railroad Retirement Board building under Treasury management.

3. Savings, added costs, and other advantages or disadvantages which would result from the integration of the disbursing function with the accounting function under the management of the Railroad Retirement Board.

The group examined all post-adjudication operations related either directly or indirectly to the disbursement of retirement payments which were performed by the board and the Chicago disbursing office of the Treasury. The activities involved in these operations were quite varied. Among the specific operations studied were the certification and processing of awards; the issuance of single, accrual, and recurring payment checks; the processing of change-of-name-and-address requests, termination and suspension notices, and returned checks; the remailing and cancellation of checks; and the control, verification, and reconciliation of these payments. The functions relating to the disbursement of payments under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act were excluded from this study.

The results of the study satisfied the survey group that the proposal for integration contained sufficient potentialities for economy to warrant a "test run." Based on the conclusions of the survey group, the Treasury Department approved the transfer of the checkwriting and related operations to the board on a test basis. Operations were to be evaluated after a transitional period of ninety days. Under these arrangements, the board began writing checks on a limited scale in December, 1953; and when all necessary records were transferred from the Treasury Department to the board, the program was expanded to include all benefit payments under the Railroad Retirement Act.

After the transitional period, detailed time-and-cost records were maintained for a three-month test period beginning in April, 1954. The cost records for this three-month test

period were carefully evaluated by a cost committee consisting of representatives of the Railroad Retirement Board, the Treasury Department, and the General Accounting Office. The findings of the committee showed that substantial savings were being achieved.

In arriving at its evaluation, the committee analyzed detailed operations for the purpose of arriving at actual costs, both direct and indirect; the basis used in allocating overhead charges and segregating costs between the disbursing and accounting functions; and the methods employed in projecting costs to annual amounts for fiscal years 1953 and 1954. Direct costs in the Railroad Retirement Board were the product of two ninety-day time studies—one of the old system and the second of the new system. Every effort was made to conform to the cost system existing in the disbursing office of the Treasury Department and to include all elements of cost, both actual and theoretical, except such items as postage which would have been identical under any system. On the basis of the committee's findings, the Secretary of the Treasury formally delegated to the board the authority to continue checkwriting under the Railroad Retirement Act.

In the short operating history of the integrated system, substantial economies have emerged. Specific examples of changes which have contributed to the major savings as well as numerous short cuts are the following:

1. The elimination of duplicate recordkeeping through the consolidation of several different types of records made possible, for example, the elimination of some 500,000 individual payee punch cards which were maintained by the board for the purpose of reconciling the recurring monthly payments processed by the division of disbursements.

2. The addition of only seven people to the regular staff of forty, who, before the integrated operations, maintained records and payment lists and performed other work preliminary to the disbursing operation, enabled the board to perform the entire operation itself and to save a substantial part of the money which would have been paid to the Treasury Department for the checkwriting service.

3. The establishment of a later cut-off date



in each month for the preparation of checks allowed more time to process such actions as changes of name and address, in order to reduce the number of corrections required after the checks were printed.

4. The reduction in number of forms, or copies of forms, resulted in savings from the elimination of their handling and filing.

These are only a few of the more significant economies of operation that resulted from the integrated system. There have been others which, while not extensive in themselves, have brought about many economical and lasting changes.

By December of 1955, over 14,200,000 checks covering a wide range of payments had been issued by the board. These included not only all of the system's retirement and survivor benefit checks, but also its own "housekeeping" checks (salaries for board personnel,

maintenance of equipment payments, rent, etc.). In addition, the board has taken over the payroll savings bond program for its own employees from the Treasury Department.

The Treasury Department disbursing offices in the various cities in which the board has regional offices continue to write the checks for unemployment and sickness benefits which are certified under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The feasibility of having the regional offices of the board assume the responsibility for checkwriting under these programs is currently being tested in the board's Chicago regional office.

Although further improvements are still to be explored, those which have been effected thus far have demonstrated the soundness of the idea of transferring railroad retirement disbursement operations to the Railroad Retirement Board.

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#### Scholars vs. Decision-Makers

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." So begins the First Book of Moses called Genesis.

"In the beginning was the word." So begins the Gospel according to St. John.

No exegesis is necessary to point out that, barring a cosmic simultaneity, either John or Genesis must be wrong. Did the act precede the thought or the thought the act?

This problem in cosmology, not to say metaphysics, is relevant here only because it indicates that theory and practice have posed a chicken-egg dilemma for a good many years. In retrospect, it is obvious only that John was a scholar and the author of Genesis a decision-maker.

—Stephen K. Bailey, "New Research Frontiers of Interest to Legislators and Administrators," in *Research Frontiers in Politics and Government; Brookings Lectures, 1955* (The Brookings Institution, 1955), p. 1.

# Reviews of Books and Documents

## The Protection of Internal Security

By Robert Horn, Stanford University

CORNELL STUDIES IN CIVIL LIBERTY. Robert E. Cushman, Advisory Editor. Cornell University Press.

*Federal Protection of Civil Rights: Quest for a Sword*, by Robert K. Carr, 1947. Pp. 284. \$3.00.

*Security, Loyalty, and Science*, by Walter Gellhorn, 1950. Pp. 300. \$3.00.

*The Tenney Committee: Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in the State of California*, by Edward L. Barrett, Jr., 1951. Pp. 400. \$5.00.

*Loyalty and Legislative Action: A Survey of Activity by the New York State Legislature, 1919-1949*, by Lawrence H. Chamberlain, 1951. Pp. 254. \$4.00.

*Un-American Activities in the State of Washington: The Work of the Canwell Committee*, by Vern Countryman, 1951. Pp. 405. \$5.00.

*The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950*, by Robert K. Carr, 1952. Pp. 489. \$6.50.

*The States and Subversion*, edited by Walter Gellhorn, 1952. Pp. 454. \$5.00.

*Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940-1947*, by Mulford Q. Sibley, 1952. Pp. 580. \$6.50.

*The Federal Loyalty-Security Program*, by Eleanor Bontecou, 1953. Pp. 377. \$5.00.

*Civil Rights in Immigration*, by Milton R. Konvitz, 1953. Pp. 216. \$3.50.

*Bill of Rights Reader: Leading Constitutional Cases*, compiled and edited by Milton R. Konvitz, 1954. Pp. 591. \$6.50.

COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: A CROSS-SECTION OF THE NATION SPEAKS ITS MIND, by Samuel A. Stouffer. Doubleday & Co., 1955. Pp. 278. \$4.00.

ONCE more an official commission is studying the problems of internal security in the United States. This one was created by an act of a Democratic Congress and approved by a Republican President. Divided control of the United States government may carry with it, in addition to the misfortunes so often stressed, its own special and largely uncounted blessings. Bipartisan cooperation in the handling of difficult and delicate problems is one of them. This commission has the most favorable auspices that it possibly could have. We should wish it Godspeed.

For if ever a question has needed a calm, clear, firm, and authoritative answer, the question of what to do—and what not to do—to protect the internal security of the United States is such a question. One generation of uncertainty is enough. In the course of that generation the nature of the threat to our internal security has become much clearer.

In countries like our own and others in which Communism has no mass base, what is the threat which it poses to internal security? A movement which can successfully appeal only to small numbers (even if its propaganda is still couched in the rhetoric of mass appeal) must undertake to do only what can be done with small numbers. Espionage and sabotage are both possible; indeed these are activities in which too many cooks spoil the broth. Agitation and propaganda are also possible. The accumulating evidence not only in the United States, but in Canada and Australia, makes it clear that espionage and sabotage are directly

dependent upon the opportunity for organized agitation and propaganda, for it is these latter activities which provide the means of recruiting talent for the former, and of conditioning the most promising recruits to be ready to perform them. The rhetorical question sometimes heard in the past: "Since we already have severe laws against sabotage and espionage, if we enforce them, what more do we need?" no longer answers itself.

Just as the real nature of the tactics of internal subversion in countries like the United States has become clearer over a generation, so have the targets for recruiting. Mass appeals being futile, appeals to minorities must be relied on. Important groups from which an effort to recruit is made are government employees, labor union members, immigrants from the "old country" and their children, racial and ethnic minorities who may have genuine cause for grievance against their society, and persons engaged broadly in communication, including of course those of us in education. The intelligentsia (the word is purposely chosen in contradistinction to intellectuals) might be called another, but it more accurately describes a stratum running through all the other groups. Such a statement of the facts ought not be made or received as a slur against any of these groups.

In short, the problem of internal security is a genuine and not a spurious problem, it is not new and not likely to disappear, the nature of this problem has become progressively clearer, and it closely resembles that of our closest national friends and is being met in similar ways. These propositions are not self-evident. Each one has been denied or ignored by many people—and still is, by some. Yet over time and through our typical modes of democratic discussion, this reviewer believes, a solid consensus based upon these propositions is developing in the United States. The emergence of this consensus is more significant than the continuation of controversy by those who still do not share it.

For this consensus, speaking bluntly, gives the commission a chance to get down to business. That business is the proposal of a fair and effective program for the internal security of the United States. In accomplishing its objective the commission will have to devise

some new methods and revise some present ones. And it will need all the help it can get.

## I

Two important sources of information and suggestions are the products of two large foundation-supported research projects. The more recent of these to appear is *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross-section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind*, directed by Samuel A. Stouffer and sponsored by The Fund for the Republic. The other is the Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty, a collection of eleven volumes which have been appearing from 1947 through 1954 under the advisory editorship of Robert E. Cushman and with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. These two projects represent a substantial investment of money and of the efforts of a large number of distinguished scholars. Neither project has been aimed precisely or exclusively at finding an over-all answer to the question of internal security, but many of the findings of both are highly relevant to that question. These findings, and their implications, deserve attention. More than that, the two projects provide several significant comparisons, in regard both to their methods and to their results. Both projects are, in the terms of the trade, action-oriented research, even though the Cornell studies undertook to appraise what has already happened under various aspects of our present internal security program and The Fund for the Republic research sought to discover existing popular attitudes about subversion. Both studies make recommendations, implicitly and explicitly, and of specific as well as general character.

In his sharp and lively "Profile" of The Ford Foundation in the *New Yorker*, Mr. Dwight MacDonald recently asked:

An inevitable, and depressing, question is: What is the practical effect of the towering mass of research that Ford and the other foundations have erected with their millions? Does anybody read their findings—can anybody read them? And if somebody does, what can he do about it? . . . The prognosis, on this practical level, does not appear favorable. Americans have a tendency to amass a vast quantity of data on some problem, and then just leave it lay. Indeed, the gathering of data is often a substitute for action.

Perhaps Mr. MacDonald is too pessimistic. The Stouffer study was effectively summarized by the able hand of Mr. Leo Rosten in *Look* magazine before publication of the book.

Although both projects are action-oriented, here the resemblance between them ends. It would be tempting to say that both represent the kind of group research so extravagantly praised (and financed) and so extravagantly damned. But they do not. Professor Cushman has been at pains to emphasize in his forewords to the volumes of the Cornell studies that each is the work and the responsibility of the individual scholar who prepared it. His own summary volume is yet to appear. The Fund for the Republic study was a group project. Although Professor Stouffer takes individual responsibility for the volume reporting its findings, he thanks the "special committee which designed the basic study," whose academic members included Professors Paul Lazarsfeld and Alexander Leighton. The project also used special consultants and the field work was done by the American Institute of Public Opinion and the National Opinion Research Center, using 537 interviewers. If there is strength in numbers, Professor Stouffer was well fortified.

As the organization of the two studies differed, so did their methodology. The preparation of the Cornell studies was almost entirely in the hands of lawyers and political scientists whose methods are exactly those which any reader familiar with the traditional work of careful and able practitioners in these disciplines would expect. None of them felt it necessary to discuss his method in any detail. He just used it—to the extent (not counting Professor Konvitz' civil liberties casebook) of 3,000 pages of text plus indexes, appendixes, and forematter in the other ten volumes that have so far appeared. This sounds like a lot of reading matter. It is a lot. It raises Mr. MacDonald's question again. But although policymakers can escape being informed, they can hardly escape reading if they wish to be informed. One can contrast the economy of scholarly fact-finding with the prolixity of fact-finding by the judicial process. If these thousands of pages seem like a lot to canvass some aspects of our internal security program, consider the more than 16,000 compiled in the

trial of a single important case under that program. This is what the judges in the Dennis case confronted.

*Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* is a piece of opinion and attitude research replete with the methodology of scientific sampling, open- and closed-end questions, depth interviews, checks upon interviewing and sampling errors, rank group scaling procedures, and elaborate techniques for cross-correlation of data. Against a spare 233 pages of text (of which the 25-page first chapter is largely a methodological account) Professor Stouffer balances 45 pages of appendixes, almost entirely methodological. The text itself is full of more statistical charts and tables than one can shake a slide-stick at without feeling fatigued. Critics far abler in such matters than this reviewer have suggested the thorny problems that always inhere in these methods, and in their use and application in this particular study. One must be especially worrisome to the interpreters of responses on such a subject as Communism and subversion: how reliable are the answers of individuals questioned as indicators of their inmost thoughts and feelings, as against their perhaps subconscious desire to give socially acceptable answers (whatever they may have thought were the socially acceptable ones)? Like Dr. Kinsey, Professor Stouffer is extremely confident of the frankness with which his questions were met. Since subversion, though a delicate question, is not so delicate as sex, perhaps the interviewer can obtain candor by looking his subject firmly in the eye. Some doubt persists. How much have we learned of what people think and how much of what they think they ought to think, and how, if at all, can we disentangle the two? Let us put this doubt aside for the moment. This much can be said: the competence of Professor Stouffer and his committee insures that the study was conducted with the best techniques available for this kind of research.

## II

WHAT help toward achieving a fair and effective internal security program can the two studies offer us? The Cornell studies are an account of much of the existing law and practice. Since this law and practice lie in the



realm of overt public historical fact readily open to inspection, in contrast to the private psychic facts which Professor Stouffer sought to uncover, let us begin with them. Of the eleven volumes in the Cornell series, all but three focus on some aspect of internal security. Robert K. Carr's volume on *Federal Protection of Civil Rights*, relating the constitutional and historical background of the establishment of the Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, and its subsequent difficulties and triumphs, bears only tangentially on internal security. So does the work on *Conscription of Conscience* by Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob. Milton R. Konvitz' *Bill of Rights Reader* includes thirteen leading cases which have arisen out of concern for internal security; these comprise a small part of the seventy-three chosen to illustrate the many-sided character of individual rights.

The other eight volumes deal with four general areas of internal security regulation: (1) state and national legislative investigations of subversive activities, (2) restrictions upon immigration and naturalization, (3) restraints upon scientific consultation and publication, and (4) the loyalty-security program for federal employees. In Professor Cushman's words, these studies are concerned with "the impact upon our civil liberties of current governmental programs designed to insure internal security." The phrase suggests their bias. Professor Cushman and those who have worked under his direction not only acknowledge but insist upon the social interest in security. Thereafter they do not examine it very much. Of course, when the Cornell series got under way, one might very well have said that the interest in national security was receiving quite enough attention, and the interest in civil liberty needed an advocate. The almost inevitable result of such an attitude, however well justified, is, nevertheless, a polemical tone which pervades these volumes. Of course, much of the best scholarship in law and political science has always been advocacy. But the most effective advocacy is usually that which states the opposing arguments even more powerfully than their supporters can put them, and action-oriented research may achieve more action by doing so.

Of the four aspects of the internal security

program studied, the Cornell project has devoted by far its greatest attention to legislative investigations of subversive activities. Its findings are reported in five volumes. Its judgment of what has been important seems to coincide with that of newspaper editors over the country, who have surely given more front page space to these investigations than to any other kind of internal security action. Of these five volumes, however, four deal with state legislative investigations and legislation, which certainly have never made the newspaper headlines that investigating committees of both houses of Congress have raised. Thus it was not the use of a journalistic criterion of importance that produced this imbalance in the project, if imbalance it be. In the past decade writers anxious for civil liberties have generally given more of their attention to the abuses, too many of them distressingly real, and some merely arguable, that these committees have perpetrated, than to any other topic. The Cornell project appears to have based its research priority on this appraisal. Private Schine all unwittingly seems to have set a train of events in motion that have moved immediate concern away from this area.

From California Professor Edward L. Barrett reports on *The Tenney Committee*, which really got off to a sensational start under Samuel W. Yorty, who soon left it for the United States House of Representatives, whence he unsuccessfully contested for a United States Senate seat in 1954. But under Jack B. Tenney, a Los Angeles piano player and well-paid president of a local of the American Federation of Musicians, this committee from 1941 to 1949 swung about as wildly as any in the country. At least it was economical, achieving eight years of notoriety for a total expenditure of less than \$150,000. In the end the California Legislature had enough of Mr. Tenney, and shortly thereafter so did his Los Angeles constituents, who had previously rejected his mayoral ambitions. While it lasted, the Tenney Committee was almost unique among state investigations, not so much for its recklessness as for the range of its interests. Although higher education was one of its happy hunting grounds, so were the film industry and Southern California zoot-suiters. The committee did a poor job of revealing the facts about Com-

munist-dominated unions on the West Coast, a topic which needed thorough airing.

Professor Vern Countryman reports on *Un-American Activities in the State of Washington: The Work of the Canwell Committee*. This investigating committee flourished under its chairman, Albert F. Canwell, ex-newspaperman, ex-commercial photographer, and ex-deputy sheriff, from 1947 to 1949, when he offered himself unsuccessfully to the voters as a candidate for United States senator. The Canwell Committee's principal investigation was into Communism at the University of Washington. Although some of its tactics were reprehensible and some of its charges reckless, after a long and thorough hearing a faculty committee on tenure at the university found some of the charges true and recommended disciplinary action against certain faculty members. The university trustees ultimately went somewhat beyond these recommendations.

In *Loyalty and Legislative Action* Dean Lawrence H. Chamberlain surveys action by the New York Legislature from 1919 to 1949. There is an interesting chapter on the Lusk Committee, the granddaddy of all such investigations, and another on lesser committees and legislation. This is prologue to an account of the Coudert Committee's investigation of Communism in the public schools and particularly the city colleges of New York City, and the resultant actions of the responsible boards of education; it concludes with an account of the subsequent—and consequent—Feinberg law, since upheld by the United States Supreme Court. This committee was chaired by state Senator Frederic R. Coudert, Jr. (later elected to Congress from a silk-stocking district), an able lawyer and vigorous friend of the public schools, who had pushed through the Legislature a model tenure law for the faculty of the city colleges, and it was directed by another able lawyer as committee counsel, Paul Windels, Esq., formerly corporation counsel under Mayor LaGuardia. During 1940-41 the committee worked, in the face of contumacious and perjured witnesses and violent and often patently false abuse by interested groups and individuals, to establish its public charges that almost precisely 1 per cent of the faculty

of the city colleges were Communist party members. A good many dismissals and resignations ultimately followed. Dean Chamberlain rightly pays tribute to this investigation as "the most reasonable and well-conducted inquiry of its kind that has come to my attention." Nevertheless he demonstrates that it could have been improved, but to this reviewer many of his objections seem unduly censorious. Dean Chamberlain, however, has written so well and fairly that he gives the reader ample basis upon which to form his own conclusions. Although he does not explicitly adopt the position that current Communist party membership is not *ipso facto* cause for dismissal from a college teaching position, he argues strongly in support of it. Those of us who do not accept that position will not be inclined to accept most of his major criticisms of the committee either.

In *The States and Subversion*, edited by Professor Walter Gellhorn, each of these three authors summarizes his previous book in a chapter. Mr. E. Houston Harsha contributes a chapter on "Illinois: The Broyles Commission," devoted to the antics attendant upon a snipe-hunt for subversives on the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College campuses. Professor Robert J. Mowitz in a chapter on Michigan traces the growth of antisubversive legislation in that state but concentrates on the development of Detroit's municipal employee security program. Professor William B. Pendergast adds a chapter on the Ober Act in Maryland which is a model of objective writing. Maryland's experience differed from that of the other five states surveyed. The Ober Commission relied largely on documentary materials and held no public hearings. Six of its eleven members were lawyers; four of them, including its chairman, Frank B. Ober, a leader of the state bar, were Harvard Law School graduates. The rigorous statute which they drafted was overwhelmingly approved in a popular referendum, and has since been taken over in whole or in part by other states. *The States and Subversion* has a useful appendix of state laws dealing with subversion and a chapter giving "A General View" by the editor. Professor Gellhorn there observes:

Almost inescapable is the conclusion that at least

some of the anti-subversion, or anti-Communist, laws are not intrinsically justifiable as societal safeguards. They have been enacted because thus the legislators can demonstrate hatred of communism. In part this satisfies a sincerely felt hunger for expression. In part it may merely satisfy a desire for personal advancement.

No doubt—and the same may be said of most of the investigations which helped generate the statutes.

When this has been acknowledged, what practical recommendations for action can follow, beyond "stop"? One might be that legislators who suppose that being in the vanguard of the fight against subversion is the surest way to "personal advancement" take a look at the record, which has unrolled further since Professor Gellhorn wrote. That record could be put in a few succinct paragraphs of electoral statistics which busy politicians could be more easily persuaded to read. Professor Gellhorn's summation points straight to the heart of the matter, but it also raises a doubt about lavishing so large a share of the project's resources on the states and subversion.

The campaign against subversion must, to be understood, be divided into the practical measures and the symbolic or ritualistic activities. Professor Gellhorn correctly detects that most state and local activity (and for that matter, national activity) falls into the ritualistic category. As effective protection against internal subversion this stuff is either inconsequential or worthless. These Draconian laws have been moldering on the state statute books for years. With the rarest exceptions, no one has ever taken them seriously except agitated libertarians who have frightened themselves by imagining all the hypothetically possible but practically absurd instances in which they might be applied, and by a few worthy and innocent but stiff-necked souls who have insisted on making responses to them that are as tinged with emotional symbolism as that to which they respond. The late Thomas Reed Powell did not make this mistake. Asked whether he would take the Massachusetts teacher's oath despite his caustic opposition to its adoption, he replied that for years the Constitution had been supporting him and that he did not mind in the least swearing to support it.

It is futile and confusing to criticize these rituals because they are, practically, worthless. Nor are they bad simply because they are rituals. They are bad if they deflect our attention from the practical measures needed, but there is no convincing evidence that they have. They are bad to the extent, very debatable, that innocent people allow themselves to be intimidated thereby. They are bad when they injure the innocent, as they have to a limited degree. It is toward the prevention of such injury that useful recommendations can and should be made. Otherwise students of law and politics may be wise to remit further serious research on the rituals of antisubversion to the cultural anthropologists, who, being experts on primitive societies, may enlighten us on the primitive aspects of civilized ones.

The last of the five volumes dealing with investigations is Professor Robert K. Carr's *The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945-1950*. It is also the most thorough. Not only are the major hearings of the committee during this period recounted in a terse style that makes them exciting reading; chapters on the membership and staff of the committee and on the planning and conduct of investigations and on committee publications provide an informative background. Not least important over-all is a chapter on press coverage of the committee's work, from which it appears that even great newspapers which were quite critical editorially of improprieties in the committee's procedure nevertheless failed miserably in their news reporting, presenting garbled accounts that catered to sensationalism. Instead of compiling a list of recommended changes in committee procedure, Professor Carr lets them emerge sharply from his skillful presentation and analysis of the records themselves. He must take some satisfaction in—and perhaps is entitled to share credit for—some reforms of congressional investigating committee procedures that have since been made. His conclusion that the wisest policy would be to abolish the committee altogether is not likely to be so readily translated into action.

### III

**I**N *Civil Rights in Immigration* Professor Milton R. Konvitz considers the bearing of

internal security requirements on our immigration, exclusion, naturalization, denaturalization, and deportation policies. These policies were of course made considerably more stringent for aliens involved in subversive organizations both by the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950 and the Nationalities (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952. He agrees that aliens who are currently members of such groups should be denied entry. But he seems to hold, though not unambiguously, that denial of naturalization on these grounds is unjust. As for denaturalization and deportation as provided by law for such involvement (as well as for racketeering, gambling, murder, and theft), Professor Konvitz describes this policy in rather startling language as "nothing short of organized bullying." He makes many specific recommendations, some of them just and widely supported. Unfortunately, and it is painful to have to say so, these appear in a context so embittered that they are not likely to get the favorable hearing which they deserve. Even practical security measures have often been considered and adopted amid such emotional orgies that sensitive men have felt revulsion against all that has been done. In such a mood this book seems to have been written. It is a poignant illustration of the serious psychic toll which continuous and clamorous debate over security can take.

In *Security, Loyalty, and Science* Walter Gellhorn discusses two aspects of internal security: restraints upon scientific consultation and publication, and the federal loyalty-security program as it affects government workers in scientific fields. From so able a lawyer and one so knowledgeable about Washington as the former director of the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Law we expect much, and Professor Gellhorn provides it in a wise and urbanely balanced volume. His first three chapters constitute a long and thoughtful essay on the problems that arise when a policy of keeping scientific knowledge secret because of its bearing on national security is adopted. His judgment concurs with that of outstanding responsible scientists. The advantage of keeping scientific secrets must constantly be weighed on the one hand against the ability of other countries to discover these secrets by their own research, and on the other

against the resultant restrictions upon our own progress in scientific research and training. But general propositions do not decide concrete cases of declassification of scientific secrets any more than they decide concrete law cases. Professor Gellhorn realizes that in this field the lawyer and student of government are laymen. The problem at least reveals the severe limitations of that once favored cliché of public administration about keeping the experts on tap and not on top. It is of some interest that Professor Gellhorn gives our military and atomic energy authorities more credit for common sense recognition of sound principles in their task of scientific censorship than some scientists and some journalists have been wont to concede them. He finds the worst difficulties elsewhere:

Unfortunately, however, the effectuation of those policies has been retarded by two forces. One is the force of official inertia, the reluctance to exercise judgment incisively and boldly, the unwillingness to accept responsibility for disclosing information which a later critic may maintain should have remained secret. The other is the force of a badly misled public opinion. Enlightenment of popular sentiment is difficult so long as political leaders violently denounce the imparting of knowledge as though it were a plot to advance the fortunes of Soviet Russia.

These forces will be recognized by students of public administration and politics for what they are respectively: passing the buck and demagoguery. As in so many aspects of the internal security campaign, an acute case of demagoguery has laid the body politic open to an attack of buck-passing; sometimes a chronic case of buck-passing may have brought on the demagogic fever.

Professor Cushman deserves thanks for initiating and Miss Eleanor Bontecou for preparing the first full-dress review of the federal employee loyalty-security program. Published in 1953, *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program* could not report the developments of the program under the Eisenhower administration. The literature of this aspect of the internal security program, of special interest to readers of this review, is now beginning to pour out in considerable volume. Miss Bontecou's pioneering work sets a high standard for all that may be written hereafter. Since it



must already be familiar to many readers, comment on it may be limited. There is little in it to quarrel with. Despite her general acknowledgement of the spirit of fairness in which President Truman's loyalty order was administered, the emphasis on examples of egregious bad judgment might mislead the casual reader into supposing that they have been typical. The chapter on "The Loyalty Security Program and Legal Tradition" was prepared by lawyers too learned to contend flatly that the administrative procedures of this program violate constitutional due process of law. Nothing but confusion is gained by attempting to impugn them as violations of due process because they are not judicial process without quite saying so. Due process is not exclusively judicial process. Constitutional due process of law is simply the process that is due in the given circumstances—no less and no more. The real questions are whether the administrative processes now followed give the employee his constitutional due, and how far we can prudently go in securing to him more than a bare constitutional minimum. Still, it is refreshing to discover again that there is more merit in a considerable judicialization of the administrative process than a good many students were prepared to admit not so long ago.

The thoroughness of Miss Bontecou's canvass of the workings of the program gives weight to her recommendations "In Conclusion." They have been echoed by participants in the program and by other observers. Simply to state most of them is as good as filing a brief in their behalf with anyone who is familiar with what has occurred.

First, a good many cases need never go on to formal charges and a hearing if the self-protective habit of passing the buck can be broken. Second, charges furnished the employee should be as full and specific as possible. Third, although Miss Bontecou agrees that some informants must remain confidential and some evidence secret, hearing boards should insist that all be revealed that safely can be. Vigorous effort and financial provision should be made to get adverse witnesses whose reported comments need further examination to appear or at least to elaborate by deposition to written interrogatories. More than that, con-

frontation of such witnesses by the employee and his counsel should be carried out whenever these adverse witnesses will consent, and when they do not, an examination of the witness *in camera* by the board itself would be better than none at all. Fourth, hearing boards should not be assigned the combined function of prosecutor and judge. Fifth, there is need for exchange of experience among boards so that precedents can be built up. The need for this measure has been magnified since abolition of the President's Loyalty Review Board, which could exercise its power to achieve some consistency of judgment. These procedural reforms are a modest list. Is the case for them not irrefutable?

Another recommendation seems less hopeful. Miss Bontecou urges that the standards of "loyalty," "security," or any other terms that may be employed be clarified. As far as they can be, they should be. But it is the essence of a legal standard as distinguished from a legal rule that it is logically indeterminate. More importantly, talk about clarification of standards may obscure the boards' deepest difficulties. First a board must find the facts in a case. We may say that it then must apply a legal standard to reach a decision. This conceals what must actually be done. The boards' second and decisive step is to make a *prediction* about the probable future conduct of the employee. Finding the facts about past behavior is sometimes difficult enough. But it is relatively easy in comparison with the second step. There are great limitations on analogizing loyalty hearings to criminal trials and on adversary proceedings alone as a cure for the difficulties.

Miss Bontecou's other major recommendation is probably most important of all, for the chances of achieving most of the procedural reforms depend almost wholly on its adoption. A good loyalty program can cover only the relatively small number of governmental positions which are "sensitive." (This is not to say that more or less summary investigation cannot be performed for other posts.) A good program will be an effective as well as a fair one. For the positions that really matter, fullest protection of national security and of individual rights alike may require a far more

searching kind of inquiry than is now possible under a swollen work load.

#### IV

THE type of information which *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* yields for policy-making is quite different. As Senator Clifford P. Case, who was president of The Fund for the Republic when the study was initiated, says in his foreword, "Some Americans will be surprised by what they find in these pages." They are probably the same Americans who were most surprised that Mr. Case could be nominated and elected to his present office. Surprising or not, these pages are filled with a profusion of interesting information, which can be barely suggested here. Professor Stouffer sought to discover the answers to two broad questions: (1) What do Americans think about the danger of internal subversion? (2) How far are they ready to tolerate nonconformists—or, put more positively, how far are they prepared to support basic civil liberties? This he did by getting the answers to a long questionnaire from subjects in two separately constructed and separately polled scientific samples of the entire national population. In addition he polled "local opinion leaders" occupying 14 different community posts in 123 cities of a population between 10,000 and 150,000, using the same questionnaire.

And what did he find? First, there is not "a national anxiety neurosis." When asked what things they worried about most, *less than 1 per cent* mentioned either Communism or civil liberties—this in polls conducted while the Army-McCarthy hearings were being aired. When then asked specifically if they worried about either of these topics, 6 per cent said they did worry about Communism and 2 per cent about civil liberties. This suggests that we are apathetic, or that we "don't scare easy," or both.

Second, a majority of both opinion leaders and ordinary citizens opined that everyone feels as free to say what he thinks today as in the past. A very substantial minority agreed that some people do not, although no more than 10 per cent thought that "hardly anybody" does. Community leaders were somewhat less optimistic than the rank and file;

13 per cent of each group said that they personally do not feel as free, though only a minority of them were much bothered by their felt loss of freedom. If more than one out of every eight Americans feel less free to speak their minds today (even if they don't much care), that is a painfully significant amount of intimidation. Yet it is hardly a "reign of terror" in which the swarms of taxis cruising Washington's broad avenues should be mistaken for tumbrils rolling through the streets. As Justice Cardozo once said, "historians may find hyperbole in the sanguinary simile."

Third, the public's image of a Communist is just as blurred as we have always suspected it is. Many, if not most, were quite unable to differentiate intelligently between a socialist or an atheist on the one hand, and a Communist on the other. Indeed, the antireligious appear to excite both a wider and a deeper antipathy than Communists as such. As for other fancied stigmata of the true Communist recorded by the interviewers, many are funnier than children's examination boners. That is, they are until reading down the list you come across a stigma which you bear yourself. A heavy overall majority picture a genuine Communist as a poorly-educated working-class man; indeed, a majority in that educational and occupational range do. The public's ideas about the internal dangers from Communism are equally interesting. Both community leaders and the rank and file think that conversion of others to Communist ideology is a far greater danger than either espionage or sabotage. (The campuses seem to be in for continued rough weather.)

Fourth, there are marked differences in tolerance among special "publics" when the samples are broken down. The sections differ. Tolerance is highest in the West, almost as high in the East, drops significantly in the Middle West, but is only about half as high in the South as in the Middle West. Urban-rural differences are also marked. Tolerance is highest in the metropolis and decreases consistently through the smaller city and the small town to a low down on the farm. Although the lower tolerance rate of the Middle West can be explained by its greater proportion of farm and small town dwellers, Professor Stouffer notes that nothing in the data can explain the low

rate in the South (none of the questions asked involved racial relations). The southern members of any of the special publics rate significantly lower than their northern fellow-members of that same special public. Tolerance also decreases steadily with age. Men appear significantly, though not greatly, more tolerant than women. Regular church-goers, Catholic and Protestant, score significantly less tolerant than those who attend church seldom or not at all. No doubt anticipating some outraged protests over that finding, Professor Stouffer has buttressed it with a wealth of correlations which his opposition will have trouble pushing over. Of course there are all kinds of interrelationships among these publics, e.g., rural dwellers and church-goers; these are explored at length.

The contrasts between the special public of the community opinion leaders and the general public are the most important of all. The fourteen leaders interviewed in each community were the mayor, the Republican and the Democratic county chairmen, the presidents of the school board, the library board, the chamber of commerce, a union local, the bar association, the parent-teachers association, and a women's club, the community chest chairman, an American Legion post commander, a D.A.R. regent, and a newspaper publisher. The outstanding fact is that the percentage of tolerant persons in each one of these categories, including the leaders of the patriotic organizations, is markedly higher than that among the public at large. Significant differences—and similarities—also appear within this leadership public. The most tolerant opinion leaders are the newspaper publishers, community chest chairmen, library board presidents, and bar association presidents. The least tolerant are the patriotic group leaders and the women's club presidents. The gap between the most tolerant and the least tolerant of these groups is large. Republican county chairmen showed up a little more tolerant than their Democratic opposite numbers, and chamber of commerce presidents edged out labor union local presidents; but the margin of possible error in these two comparisons, Professor Stouffer notes, makes these apparent slight differences of no significance. One thing is clear: the enemies of liberty are not concentrated in the phalanx of

"the prestigious, the well-educated, and the able," to paraphrase the old phrase.

In fact, as correlation after correlation of the data shows, it is the well-educated who favor civil liberties, and the higher the level of formal education, the more tolerance can be predicted. That may be the most important though hardly the most surprising finding of the study.

If there is a more important implication, Professor Stouffer suggests that it is this: although there is a correlation between the belief that our danger from internal subversion is great and an unfavorable attitude toward civil liberties, it is not "a one-to-one correlation." Large percentages among the better-educated, the more interested, and the local community leaders consider that the danger to our internal security is great, yet strongly support civil liberties. The different positions people take on specific events, personalities, and measures must often be explained by the tension created in many individuals holding both these attitudes. Likewise the data show that apathy or lack of information about subversion by no means guarantees a favorable attitude toward civil liberties. As a result, Professor Stouffer concludes, "merely accenting the negative—merely asserting that the internal threat is exaggerated—would be limited in its effectiveness."

From this work, especially as one compares it with the Cornell studies, several paradoxes emerge. If church-goers are less tolerant, why is it, as Professor Stouffer observes and the Cornell studies demonstrate, that some of the most courageous stands against demagogic excesses have been taken by organized religious faiths? The reason, one can rather confidently assume, is that the leadership of the churches is shared by a clergy notably more tolerant than the average of their congregations and by the demonstrably more tolerant and religiously active local opinion leaders among the laity.

A much bigger puzzle appears when one compares the findings of greater intolerance among rural people and in the South with the record in *The States and Subversion* and its supporting volumes. The Cornell project obviously selected for special attention states in which the hubbub over subversion had been

loudest: New York, California, Washington, Michigan, Illinois, and Maryland. Not one of them, unless it is Washington, could be thought of as a rural state, and not one of them is a southern state, unless it is the border state of Maryland. In the Middle West Illinois and Michigan are among the most highly industrialized states, while Kansas and her agrarian sisters of the region were still raising more corn and less hell. Moreover, Professor Gellhorn has noticed that in fairly rural New Hampshire an orderly investigating committee quietly reported that the state was safe, and that in the rural and southern states of Arkansas and Oklahoma legislative investigations quickly guttered out. More than that, it has been the cities which have set up local employee security programs; Professor Gellhorn mentions no rural county which has done so, and this reviewer recalls none. As another clue, Washington, D. C., a nonindustrial city, dealt with its problem as quietly and unhysterically as New Hampshire, and not at all like Los Angeles or Detroit.

The earth quakes most sharply where the mountains meet the sea, and the political seismograph has recorded the most violent shocks in those states whose political centers lie along a fault line between a great urban industrial complex and the countryside. Is this mere coincidence? Of course it is true that the legislatures in these states are under rural dominance, but so they are in rural states where relative calm has prevailed. It is also true that some of the leading state and national investigators have come from rural constituencies, but by no means all of them have.

Where they came from may not be so important as where they have received the most attention. Professor Carr's study of press coverage of the Un-American Activities Committee suggests another clue. The news stories of ordinarily responsible metropolitan dailies often read as if a circus press agent had written them. This reviewer will hazard the hypothesis that the small town dailies were not nearly so sensational (perhaps because they could not afford the space to be). Thomas Jefferson, who believed in civil liberties, called the *canaille* of great cities their worst enemy. That word is in intolerant bad taste now; perhaps it was even when Jefferson used it. We have the

great cities, and people cannot help that they live in them and must endure the tensions they create. But if Durkheim's organic solidarity is unsatisfying or invisible, a city dweller may respond to what promises a new mechanical solidarity. Those who wish to follow this theme can do no better than to consult the work of Professor David Riesman on the rising urban and suburban nonintellectual class which resents a socially distant leadership that country people have always respected even when they have not understood it or agreed with it, partly because it is not, cannot be, similarly remote from them.

There is one more paradox, suggested by the poor record of the press. If local (and national) opinion leaders are as deeply committed to civil liberties as Professor Stouffer's data suggest, why have so many of them said so little or talked in opposition to their confidentially avowed position? No one expects or wants them to try to outshout demagogues, but a whispering campaign for the Bill of Rights isn't likely to carry very far. How many of their responses expressed reasoned convictions and how many represented pious superficial celebrations of an approved social myth? How many gave the answers that they knew their dear old high school civics teacher or their earnest young instructor in the introductory college course in American government would still, after all those years, expect of them? And how much responsibility for raising up heretics in the truth do these teachers bear if they presented freedom as a "value" unquestionably entitled to "preferred position" but not as a tough problem? These are disturbing thoughts for a teacher of the subject, too disturbing to linger over.

Let us hope that policy-makers read *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* as well as the Cornell series. They will not find the substantive suggestions in the former that they will in the latter. Yet Professor Stouffer's book can be the most liberating book that they have read in a long time. They will be well advised to skip over his major recommendation: a big educational effort to make the Bill of Rights more meaningful. There's nothing wrong with that. Professor Konvitz' *Bill of Rights Reader* in the Cornell series shows that that project has come to the same



conclusion. It is admirably done, and every teacher of a civil liberties course should be grateful to have it available. Unfortunately in stout buckram at \$6.50 the copy, it is not likely to win enough friends or influence enough people. If any book besides Professor Stouffer's needs a pocketbook edition, this is the book, and if some publisher is daring enough or some foundation is wise enough, perhaps there is still hope for both. But Dwight MacDonald's warning against research as a substitute for action applies to teaching as well. One almost feels that Professor Stouffer has somehow overlooked the most important single implication of his study.

## V

*Those who make policy in our internal security program, in either major party and in all three branches of the government, are now free to make that policy not only effective but fair.* This is the great lesson to be read between the lines of Professor Stouffer's book. Granted that the public is not so vigilant against encroachments on liberty and miscarriages of justice as it should be, neither is it in a state of unreasoning panic over internal subversion. In such circumstances a wide area of choice in policies is open to leaders who have the courage to act like leaders.

Each major party has a wide freedom of choice. Without indulging in personalities, it is clear that each has had its demagogues. Professor Stouffer's data also make clear that within the sections, the age groups, the urban and rural divisions, and the educational levels from which each party typically draws its strength, its leaders will find support for as well as opposition to a fair program for internal security. Fortunately the issue, like most questions in American politics, is not one on which the parties need to, or over the long run can afford to, adopt irreconcilable positions. Internal security will cease to be a football of partisan politics when each party realizes that a fumble can be costly to it, and sooner or later a party which is not wise enough to learn from its opponent's bitter experience will learn from its own.

The legislature, the executive, and the judiciary each have a wide freedom of choice

open to them. The commission now at work will do well to follow the example of the Hoover commissions and indicate distinctly what the Congress and the President respectively can and should do. A citizens' committee to work for the adoption of its proposals is also needed.

The freedom of choice which Congress has is largely the freedom open to the parties. Congress also has the freedom of inaction. No great new legislative output has been called for from any quarter. It would be a serious mistake for those who seek corrections in the program to embark upon a campaign for a symbolic repeal of existing statutes; patient revision will suffice. If there are merely ritualistic antismisinformation laws in our national code, they can be left in innocuous desuetude. In the administration of practical measures now on the books not every statutory ambiguity must have legislative correction. The executive and judicial branches may safely be left to work out a wise interpretation of most of them. Congress may need do little more than attend to its own affairs, of which undoubtedly the most pressing is further elaboration of a code of fair procedure for its own committees.

The President has a wide freedom of action, particularly in setting the tone in which an employee security program is administered. He certainly has now, and for various reasons Congress is not likely to limit him too much in any future legislation. No small part of the President's freedom stems from his ability to act unobtrusively if not secretly. Defensive explanations of an action may excite suspicions of its soundness that would never have arisen if it had just been done. There is no obligation on the President to give free publicity to every politician who wants to argue with him or to answer every question that some reporter would like him to. When he has good reason to believe that doing so will jeopardize the fairest decision, he would be foolish to do so.

The judiciary also has a wide measure of freedom, for the most obvious reason. Of course it would be presumptuous for anyone to tell the judges how to employ it, though to express the hope that they will not make a fetish of judicial restraint is not contempt of

the court. But the commission can and should recommend legislation to put judicial review of administrative decisions in various security cases on a stronger footing. If the administrators who have made a few of the decisions in employee security and immigration cases that have become public knowledge had known from the start that their actions indubitably could be brought before the stern gaze of our federal judiciary, it is hard to believe that they would ever have made them. Some students

of public administration have not made the enactment of such legislation easier by their strong protests some years back against "judicial encroachments" on the administrative process. Here too a sober second thought is in order.

The time for us to act to insure a better internal security program is now, before present practices become rigidified by routine and sanctified by familiarity. These two projects may have helped bring that time nearer.

## Six Functions in Search of a Government

By Victor Jones, University of California, Berkeley,  
and Government Affairs Foundation

**METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES: A STUDY IN INTEGRATION**, edited by Edwin A. Cottrell and Winston W. Crouch. Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, 1952-1955. All 16 monographs in one order: cloth, \$30.00; paper, \$23.00.

- I. *Characteristics of the Metropolis*, by Edwin A. Cottrell and Helen L. Jones. 1952. Pp. 123. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$2.00.
- II. *How the Cities Grew*, by Richard Bigger and James D. Kitchen. 1952. Pp. 259. Cloth, \$3.50; paper, \$3.00.
- III. *Regional Planning*, by Judith Norvell Jamison. 1952. Pp. 106. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.50.
- IV. *Law Enforcement*, by Robert F. Wilcox. 1952. Pp. 211. Cloth, \$3.50; paper, \$3.00.
- V. *Sanitation and Health*, by Winston W. Crouch, Wendell Maccoby, Margaret G. Morden, and Richard Bigger. 1952. Pp. 163. Cloth, \$2.75; paper \$2.25.
- VI. *Fire Protection*, by James Trump, James R. Donoghue, and Morton Kroll. 1952. Pp. 173. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.
- VII. *Highways*, by Robert F. Wilcox. 1953. Pp. 63. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

VIII. *Water Supply*, by Vincent Ostrom. 1953. Pp. 180. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.

IX. *Recreation and Parks*, by Ellis McCune. 1954. Pp. 77. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

X. *Personnel Management*, by Helen L. Jones. 1952. Pp. 73. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

XI. *Governmental Purchasing*, by Paul Beckett, Morris Plotkin, and George Pollak. 1952. Pp. 137. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.50.

XII. *Schools*, by Helen L. Jones. 1952. Pp. 107. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

XIII. *Public Libraries*, by Helen L. Jones. 1953. Pp. 88. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

XIV. *Finance and Taxation*, by Winston W. Crouch, John E. Swanson, Richard Bigger, and James A. Algie. 1954. Pp. 154. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.

XV. *Intergovernmental Relations*, by Winston W. Crouch. 1954. Pp. 164. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$2.25.

XVI. *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible?* by Edwin A. Cottrell and Helen L. Jones. 1955. Pp. 120. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$2.00.

**APPOINTED EXECUTIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT: THE CALIFORNIA EXPERIENCE**, by John C. Bollens. Haynes Foundation, 1952. Pp. 245. Cloth, \$3.75; paper, \$3.00.

**WATER AND POLITICS: A STUDY OF WATER POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOS ANGELES**, by Vincent Ostrom. Haynes Foundation, 1953. Pp. 315. Cloth, \$4.00; paper, \$3.50.

## I

LOS ANGELES has been referred to by some people living in its bosom as "six suburbs in search of a city." The reader of the sixteen volumes on the government of metropolitan Los Angeles, published by the Haynes Foundation, may well take their text, with apologies to Pirandello, to be "six functions in search of a government."

Of course, Los Angeles is unique. There is no virgin birth among social institutions. Among the distinguishing characteristics of Los Angeles, however, is an accentuation of the economic and demographic trends of other metropolitan communities. The people of metropolitan Los Angeles and their work, play, shopping, and life in general are more decentralized than in the older metropolises where the distribution of activities was hardened earlier under the influences of different means of transportation and communication.

... the Los Angeles metropolitan area is made up of a great number of smaller areas which are as distinct from one another as Alabama is from Pennsylvania, or Wisconsin from New Mexico. The physical differences in houses, streets, and commercial buildings merely serve to emphasize the differences in the social structure of these subareas. ... (I, 49)

The central city is less central in the life of the Los Angeles metropolite than it is in other metropolitan areas. It plays an even less central role than the central city in metropolitan Miami, which has also come of age along with the automobile. The central city, however, is still the center of the metropolitan community. This is partly because the city covers an area of over 450 square miles and contains many subcenters offering specialized services to the metropolis. But even the central business district remains more than a neighborhood shopping center.

The effects of this decentralization, as described by Cottrell and Jones, are similar to those to be found in other metropolitan areas:

The decentralization or spreading out of population in the Los Angeles metropolitan area has been both beneficial and detrimental. It has enabled the greater part of the population to take advantage of opportunities for outdoor living, and it has minimized development of some of the worst types of slums and blighted areas. On the other hand, the great distances residents must travel in the course of ordinary business and social engagements have caused incalculable losses of time, money, and energy. The development of adequate mass transit facilities has been seriously retarded, and municipalities have carried heavy financial burdens in attempts to maintain proper services in numerous sparsely settled areas. But the worst effects of decentralization have been intangible. Some suburban areas near Los Angeles or on the fringes of the core city have tended to remain socially and politically disorganized. Cities and towns farther from the principal city have achieved a certain internal cohesiveness, but have often failed to recognize their relationship to the larger metropolitan community. Subsidies for municipal functions in unincorporated areas have encouraged new development, discouraged incorporation, and made annexation to adjoining cities more difficult. The urban fringe areas choke off future city growth and create problems over which cities have no control. (I, 67)

## II

ANOTHER characteristic of the Los Angeles metropolitan area is the extent to which it has been studied and surveyed by governmental agencies, official and nonofficial commissions, and individual scholars. Many of these last have been financially assisted by the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation.

Since 1944, the foundation has published 38 volumes, including the 16 under review, in its monograph series. Among them are *An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area* by Frank Kidner and Philip Neff, 1945 (the statistical appendix was published as a separate volume); *Los Angeles County as an Agency of Municipal Government*, by George Bemis and Nancy Basché, 1947; *Metropolitan Los Angeles: One Community*, by Mel Scott, 1949; *Metropolitan Los Angeles: Its Governments*, by Helen L. Jones and Robert F. Wilcox, 1949; *Appointed*

*Executive Local Government: The California Experience*, by John C. Bollens, 1952; *Water and Politics*, by Vincent Ostrom, 1953; *Some Social Aspects of Business Cycles in the Los Angeles Area, 1920-1950*, by Jacqueline R. Kasun, 1954; and *Growth and Changes in California's Population*, by Warren S. Thompson, 1955. The foundation-sponsored study by Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *Social Areas of Los Angeles*, was published in 1949 by the University of California Press.

One of the principal criticisms of the series on *Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration* is that the authors did not use the available knowledge about the social and economic structure of the metropolitan community to enlighten us about the problems that local government is asked to solve and to put flesh on the bare bones of governmental structures. At times, as one reads the volumes on line functions and on planning, purchasing, and personnel one feels that he is watching the interaction of interrelated skeletons.

The other institution that joined with the Haynes Foundation to produce these sixteen monographs is the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California at Los Angeles. Between 1941 and 1951, under the directorship of Frank M. Stewart and Winston W. Crouch, several monographs were published on governmental purchasing, fire protection, planning, personnel administration, library service, health administration, and the administration of property taxes. These monographs, brought up to date, and in some instances abbreviated or expanded, constitute volumes III, V, VI, X, XI, XIII, and part of XIV in the Haynes Foundation series. On the death of Edwin A. Cottrell in February, 1953, Winston Crouch, director of the bureau, became editor of the series.

These important academic studies of government in the metropolis do not exhaust the inventory of metropolitan surveys of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission and the Los Angeles City Planning Commission, as well as other agencies of state, county, municipal, and district governments have issued many valuable reports. Since 1903 at least seventeen privately and officially sponsored commissions have issued reports on the government of the metropolitan area.

These, along with the views of individual officials and public officials, are summarized by Cottrell and Jones in volume I.

In no other metropolitan community has so much material on the government of the metropolis been assembled, classified, analyzed, and published.

### III

**V**OLUME I, *Characteristics of the Metropolis*, by Edwin A. Cottrell and Helen L. Jones, is an introduction to the series. It is really two books that are not tied together, even by publication in one volume. The authors review attempts and proposals to solve the problem of metropolitan government in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cleveland, Denver, Atlanta, Birmingham, Baton Rouge, London, Toronto, and Montreal (chapter I) and in Los Angeles (chapter IV). These two chapters, along with the conclusions in Chapter V, may be considered as one book. The summaries are succinct and the comments wise. This part will be useful to students and to public officials, private citizens, or surveyors who are looking for an introduction to developments in other metropolitan areas.

Chapters II and III on the characteristics of the Los Angeles metropolitan area and on the urbanization of Los Angeles County could have been expanded into a full monograph. What are the social, economic, and political factors that divide the metropolis into distinct functional and geographic groups? Which factors, and in what combination, bind these groups into a metropolitan community? How are the organization and functions of government affected by the social and economic structure of the community? What is the role of political leadership in a heterogeneous community?

### IV

**H**ow the Cities Grew, by Richard Bigger and James D. Kitchen, is the most important volume in the series. It is a distinct contribution to local history. The authors have recreated with painstaking scholarship the "aspirations and tensions that have served to produce [an important segment of] the present pattern of metropolitan government." They



tell the story of the incorporation and disincorporation of municipalities and of their expansion or failure to expand through annexation and consolidation. Here, then, is material that will help to answer the questions asked in the preceding section of this essay.

Perhaps the Haynes Foundation and the Bureau of Governmental Research will provide us with similar political and social histories of the other major governments operating in the metropolitan area. The story of the development of Los Angeles County into a metropolitan government would not only round out the local picture but would also provide a touchstone against which we could judge the development of counties elsewhere to meet the needs of metropolitan communities.

We also need a history of special districts in Los Angeles. Part of this need has been met by another monograph published in 1953 by the Haynes Foundation: Vincent Ostrom's *Water and Politics*. Ostrom's study is much more than a history of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. Most of the book is taken up with the political and administrative history of the Los Angeles City Department of Water and Power and its predecessors. Ostrom's book deserves to be read for its own story and for its demonstration of the constant interplay of politics and administration. It will also serve to supplement the 22-page account in Bigger and Kitchen of the role of water in the territorial expansion of the city.

There are no adequate histories of the assumption and expansion of governmental functions. Our understanding of the modern metropolis would be much more satisfying if each of the functions discussed in the Haynes Foundation series were placed in a historical context such as Ostrom has provided for water supply.

It is encouraging that political scientists have taken the first steps to write the history of government and politics in metropolitan areas. Perhaps historians will soon join with political scientists, sociologists, economists, and functional administrators to write the history of modern urban communities.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Historians have done little as yet with the . . . period of urban development characterized by the

## V

THE core of the series is the twelve volumes on regional planning, law enforcement, sanitation and health, fire protection, highways, water supply, recreation and parks, personnel management, governmental purchasing, schools, public libraries, and finance and taxation. Each of these volumes contains a description of the principal agencies responsible for the administration of a particular function and the formal and some of the informal relationships that have developed among federal, state, municipal, county, and many types of special district governments.

There is probably more integration of local government services in Los Angeles than in any other metropolitan area in the United States except Baton Rouge (population 158,000 in 1950). It appears from these volumes, however, that each function is autonomously organized and administered independently of other governmental functions. Undoubtedly this is less true in practice than it appears to be in print.

The authors have analyzed their material and made their recommendations "from a functional point of view, with no attempt made to relate the operation of one activity to that of another." (XVI, 82) This would be a justifiable method of organizing the study of local government if the functional studies were rounded out by consideration of the procedures for making general public policy. But there is no discussion of the role of the county board of supervisors, city councils, and district commissioners or of mayors, city managers, and chief administrative officers in providing a general government.

If this function is timidly and ineffectually

emergence of metropolitan areas and core cities, from 1915 to the present. . . . It is also clear that in this period cities present antitheses as the opposing tendencies of the day find their most striking expressions in urban life: diffusion versus centralization, heterogeneity versus standardization, expressionism versus planning, to mention only a few. And now, more than ever, uniquely urban problems, such as slum clearance, have become crucial national issues." Blake McKelvey, "American Urban History Today," 57 *American Historical Review* 919-27 (July, 1952). Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt* (Knopf, 1955), discusses the metropolitan expansion and suburban problems of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, and Charles Town between 1743 and 1776.

performed, this becomes one of the major problems of metropolitan government. The pressure for functional autonomy is so steady and pervasive that special efforts must be made to prevent local government from becoming functionally disintegrated.

The nearest approach to concern with the coordination of functions is in the chapter on budgeting in *Finance and Taxation* by Winston W. Crouch and others. The authors are fully aware that a budget is an instrument of policy and management. They do not tell us, however, whether it is used to allocate available funds and manpower among the functionally integrated claimants.

During the period in which the Haynes Foundation was publishing the series, it also published *Appointed Executive Local Government: The California Experience*, by John C. Bollens. It was not his purpose, of course, to consider the role of the chief executive in metropolitan intergovernmental relations or in the management of metropolitan functions. His book should be considered briefly at this point, however. Over half of the cities in metropolitan Los Angeles have city managers or chief administrative officers. The chief administrative officers in Los Angeles County has considerably strengthened the county as a metropolitan government.

## VI

THE last two volumes in the series, *Intergovernmental Relations*, by Winston W. Crouch, and *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible?*, by Edwin A. Cottrell and Helen L. Jones, summarize the material in the preceding volumes. Each, however, is more than a summary and each is organized differently.

Crouch reorganizes the material to illustrate the major types of intergovernmental relations in the metropolis. To the material on relationships among the county, special districts, and cities, he has added chapters on state-local relations and federal-local relations. He has also included a revision of his 1938 article on extra-territorial powers of cities.

Most of Helen Jones's book is a function-by-function summary of the generalizations and recommendations of the authors of the earlier

volumes. She does not, however, summarize her own volume on schools.

Most of the recommendations of Crouch and Jones look to the improvement of existing cooperative relationships and the development of functional consolidation of other activities. The last chapter in Crouch's book in which he presents his generalizations and recommendations is very good. It will be helpful to anyone who is considering the desirability of consolidating a particular function on a metropolitan basis.<sup>2</sup> To the student of metropolitan government it will suggest several hypotheses for investigation and testing.

Crouch believes that steps should be taken to make more systematic the development of formal means of intergovernmental cooperation. Experience with formal cooperation, even though its growth has been spasmodic, is sufficient to serve as a base for the development of public policy. Functional consolidation would be much easier if personnel that are now employed in carrying on the local administrative functions could be transferred to the new agency. "Before any plan for transfer or absorption of employees can be practical, the employment practices must be made more nearly uniform." (XV, 143; see also vol. X. *Personnel Management*, by Helen L. Jones.)

The second step recommended by Crouch is for the county, civic groups, or the state to convene "exploratory . . . conferences between the county government and the municipalities (at least of the smaller municipalities) to determine what consolidations may be possible and to determine what additional effort may be required to bring those about." (XV, 149-50)

Significantly, the county government is considered the natural source of leadership for this type of community planning. In view of the report of the Kestnbaum Commission and of the formally expressed interest of the Conference of Governors in the government of metro-

<sup>2</sup> The section on the problems involved in consolidation from the points of view of the unit that will perform the work and the unit that seeks the contract (XV, 145-46) and the statement of the principle that should govern policy in effecting functional consolidation (XV, 148-49) will be helpful to administrators, legislators, and civic leaders in the rest of California and in other metropolitan areas.

politan areas, Crouch's suggestion that the state government assume leadership in shaping local government to meet the needs of metropolitan areas is timely:

... Legally the state is the senior government and has a responsibility to offer its "good offices" to obtain a solution of problems that may be local in nature to a large degree. In some respects, the state would be the best of the three possibilities [county, civic groups, the state]. It has legal responsibilities; yet it is not actually a party to local arguments or competitions. (XV, 150)

Crouch recommends that the governor initiate a series of exploratory conferences to determine if further functional consolidation might be achieved in the area and whether additional legislation or organization is needed to bring about such functional consolidation as is "mutually desired by the local governments."

He also recommends that a state administrative board be created with power to investigate the conflicting interests of the various groups who favor annexation, incorporation, or the creation of a service district and "to make a finding that would be the product of study and, possibly, of mediation." He offers the experience of the Toronto metropolitan area under the guidance and leadership of the Ontario Municipal Board as an instance of a "state"-appointed board "having sufficient breadth of authority to obtain the facts and to bring the contending local forces together. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

## VII

HELEN JONES asserts that "plans for a city-county consolidation, a regional federation, or a borough system for the metropolitan area appear to be infeasible at this time." She thinks functional consolidation, however, "will lead toward and facilitate the ultimate attainment of a governmental structure befitting the interdependent nature of this region." (XV, 81)

All consideration of a metropolitan govern-

ment other than functional consolidation she leaves to a short concluding chapter entitled "Ideas for the Future." Ultimately, she favors "some form of administration . . . to provide most of the common services of the area while leaving to the existing independent governmental entities their individual identities and their autonomy in those affairs they deem to be purely local." (XV, 106)

Two questions about this statement: Does she mean to say, by using the word *administration*, that politics has no proper place in a metropolitan government? Would she leave the decision as to what is purely local to the existing independent governmental entities?

There are two alternative ways, she says, of arriving at this kind of metropolitan government: (1) creation of a metropolitanwide multipurpose agency and (2) continuation of the present trend toward functional consolidation until the county becomes central agency.

... The continuation of this trend could eventually result in a metropolitan arrangement under which the cities would continue to administer purely local affairs but would have delegated to the county all major functions. In so far as the relationship between the county and the cities is concerned, the end product would be closely akin to a system of metropolitan borough government.<sup>4</sup>

This movement was strengthened when the newly incorporated city of Lakewood (1954) with a population of 60,000 contracted with the county to furnish all municipal services under the control of the city council. The County Board of Supervisors already administered many local services through special districts. The city council exercises legislative, budgetary, and planning and zoning functions.<sup>5</sup>

## VIII

DESPITE, or perhaps because of, the constant rivalry between it and the larger cities, the most significant government in Metropolitan Los Angeles is Los Angeles County. This fact is often hidden from the reader as he first goes through the mass of detail in the

<sup>3</sup> XV, 151; see also pp. 5-8. See Chester Bain, "Annexation: Virginia's Not-So-Judicial System," 15 *Public Administration Review* 251-62 (Autumn, 1955), and Victor Jones, "Local Government Organization in Metropolitan Areas" in *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment* edited by Coleman Woodbury (University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 568-72 on the disadvantages of a court and the advantages of an administrative agency to determine annexation questions.

<sup>4</sup> XVI, 106. See Victor Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-93.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the Lakewood Plan including a list of county-city contracts, see Appendix A (XVI, 112).

functional volumes.<sup>6</sup> But even here the final picture to emerge is that of the county as the senior partner.

Since the adoption of the county charter in 1913, the county has developed into a unit of local government that is as far removed from the traditional concept of the county as merely an administrative agency of the state as is any municipality. Winston W. Crouch's classification of the county's relationships with other local governments will show the importance of its position as a metropolitan government.

... One category arises from mutual agreements that have been entered into by the county and certain cities, with the result that the county performs services for the city. [E.g., tax assessment and collection, library administration, public health administration, personnel administration, roads and public works, building inspection, animal care, recreation.] A second group of relationships involves administrative understandings in which the city and county department heads who are concerned with a certain function agree on co-operative efforts. [E.g., fire protection and law enforcement.] In these situations, often the County Board of Supervisors and the city council are aware of the agreement or *modus operandi* but they are not called upon to give it formal approval. Another category arises from the county's exercise of its role as an agent of the state. In the capacity of agent the county is responsible for maintaining the superior courts, municipal courts, and justice courts. This responsibility brings the county government into contact with local leaders and municipal officials. A fourth type of relationship arises where the County Board of Supervisors constitutes the governing body of a special district in which the cities have membership [14 county sanitation districts] or in which the district [e.g., Los Angeles County Flood Control District] has close relations with city officials. (XV, 62)

Special districts are a notable feature of the governmental townscape in Metropolitan Los Angeles. Some are countywide and others are primarily designed to provide services to unincorporated areas. One, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, is growing through annexations to become a regional agency for the South Coastal Basin, including parts of the Standard Metropolitan Areas of

Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego.

The county is at the center of the policy-making and administration of most districts, except the Metropolitan Water Districts. Note Crouch's classification of special districts in his discussion of intergovernmental relations:

... special districts in which (a) the county board is the governing authority of the district and the district has significant relations with city governments, or (b) city representatives and county officials serve together on a joint governing board of a district, or (c) several city governments have negotiated with the county board of supervisors for the formation, under general state law, of a special district that would serve the cities, or (d) the county and a city have worked together with a district to accomplish purposes that are of mutual interests. (XV, 89)

Metropolitan Los Angeles has almost the kind of metropolitan government that other metropolitan communities are groping for. After further consolidation of a few functions, particularly those now handled by special districts, there will be in fact a two-tier government. It will not be so tidy as a textbook, but metropolitan functions will be on a county-wide basis and other functions will remain with the municipalities and, in unincorporated fringes, with their equivalents.

## IX

THIS excellent series of studies of local government in Metropolitan Los Angeles is concluded with this statement by Miss Jones:

The research has been done. Knowledge of existing governmental patterns and relationships has been made available. Ideas for the future have been formulated. Now must come action and leadership. . . . (XVI, 109)

Action and leadership may soon come as into a vacuum, for there is much to do and relatively few have offered to lead us to a more effective and democratically controlled metropolitan government. Knowledge and ideas, however, are not transformed into action and leadership without an organized political effort. This is why we need studies of politics of integration to complement each volume in this series. Bigger and Kitchen have set the pattern for historical analyses of politics. This should be supplemented by sociological, eco-

\*None of the volumes is indexed. Their usefulness would be increased many times if the Haynes Foundation were to issue an index for the series.



nomic, and political analyses of the power structure.

All the research, therefore, has not been done. The work of these authors has made it possible for them and others to ask questions not yet answered. Ideas for the future have not been formulated into propositions that can be validated against theory and into hypotheses that can be tested by empirical research.

Fortunately, the Haynes Foundation has made it financially possible for the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California at Los Angeles, under the direction of Winston W. Crouch, to continue its search for answers to some of these questions. In the first place, the bureau proposes to work with economists and sociologists to determine to what extent the centralization and decentralization of social, economic, and political institutions are pertinent to the development of metropolitan government. Second, the groups

that have supported or opposed proposals for changing the governmental organization of the metropolitan area will be identified and the interests and attitudes involved will be analyzed. And finally, if the research indicates the desirability of a "federated" form of metropolitan government, the bureau will attempt to formulate criteria for determining what functions should be assigned to a metropolitanwide government and what functions should be left with constituent governments.

The successful prosecution of the proposed research will give a meaning and a direction to the sixteen volumes in the present series. This will make the citizens of Los Angeles their debtors. And if they develop a way to identify the basic factors in metropolitan politics and show us how they can be managed to produce the kind of metropolis we want to live in, the people of the United States will be indebted to them.

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#### Realizing the Potential

Human potentials of personality, inclination, and talent are endlessly varied. These potentials can be realized fully and freely under conditions of democracy, and to the greatest extent within urban, industrialized democracy. The human personality needs the free society for its full development. The free society includes the distastes that freedom spawns; it provides no neatness of social structure and suffers gaps which may be filled by the joys of self-pity and self-destruction and the terrors of surfeit and loneliness. But it also provides infinite and infinitely varied life-ways that fulfil the self or serve the community and frequently do both.

This is a culture of social maturity. It needs and develops mature individuals. The unified village community always attended by the father-substitute is the community of children or patients. The community mobilized for the achievement of grandiose state purposes is the totalitarian community, and its citizens are ciphers. All are unpalatable alternatives to democratic industrial society.

—Morton Grodzins, *The Loyal and the Disloyal* (University of Chicago Press, to be published March 27, 1956), p. 256.

# Research Notes

Compiled by John C. Honey,  
Director, Government Studies Program,  
National Science Foundation

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## Business Executives in Federal Government

Concerned over the fact that, in the past, the use of business executives in the federal government has not produced consistently good results, the Harvard Business School Club of Washington, D. C. has undertaken a comprehensive collection and study of individual experiences in this field. Some of the questions to which the study is addressed include:

1. What is the federal government's need for qualified business executives in top-level positions?
2. What are the basic factors and circumstances that are operating to prevent satisfaction of government's need for business executives?
3. What types of positions are best filled by qualified business executives, and what are the performance requirements of these positions?
4. What essential professional qualifications and personal attributes and attitudes are required of the business executives for such federal positions?
5. What constructive measures can be ap-

NOTE: Readers of *Public Administration Review* are invited to report items of research in progress through Research Notes. A report on any one project should not exceed 300 words and should include information on such matters as the conceptual framework of the study, its aims, tentative conclusions, anticipated uses, sources of information, principal investigators, and expected date of completion. A fuller announcement on the scope of Research Notes appeared in the Summer, 1955, issue of the *Review*.

Research Notes are compiled by three members of the staff of the National Science Foundation: Mrs. Kathryn S. Arnow, John C. Honey, and Herbert H. Rosenberg. Reports should be addressed to John C. Honey, Director of Governmental Studies, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

plied by both the federal government and the business community in order to provide the type and number of business executives needed for these federal positions?

6. What reasons exist which make it advisable for business executives to participate in the federal government?

7. What is the present situation with regard to successful business executives participating in the federal government?

Information bearing on these questions will be sought from the largest possible number of business executives who are now in government jobs, from those who have held them in past years, and from others who have been asked to serve but declined. A large number will be asked to fill in a mailed questionnaire, and comprehensive personal interviews will be held with a representative sample.

An inventory will also be made of the sort of government managerial positions which businessmen would usually be considered qualified to fill—in categories ranging from head of a division through Cabinet posts. An effort will be made to interview all the men who have held a representative sample of these jobs since 1940.

For the conduct of the survey the Harvard Business School Club of Washington, D. C. has a grant-in-aid from the Committee for Economic Development and the Fund for Adult Education. Business Club alumni are carrying on the bulk of the work on a volunteer basis under a salaried executive director, Louis Alexander Traxel. Further help is being provided by an advisory board of prominent business and government executives throughout the nation and by a faculty committee of the Graduate School of Business Administration.

Findings will be published and circulated to government officials, business leaders, educators, research groups, and others who are interested in the problem. Further information on the survey may be secured from Mr. Traxel at Broadcast House, 40th and Brandywine Streets, N. W., Washington 16, D. C.

### Government of Metropolitan Areas

Government Affairs Foundation, New York City, has in preparation five publications pertaining to government of metropolitan areas. They are designed to assist civic groups, local survey and study groups, public officials, leading citizens, teachers, and students in understanding, analyzing, and developing solutions to metropolitan problems.

1. A comprehensive bibliography of literature on metropolitan communities, with special emphasis upon government and politics, is nearing completion and will be available for general distribution in the late spring or early summer of 1956. It contains about 4,000 items. More than a hundred individuals and organizations cooperated in the compilation.

2. A summary of 89 surveys of government made in particular metropolitan areas during the last thirty years will be completed shortly and published late in the spring. It includes all of the major surveys and others which are representative or important for other reasons. The book will be divided into two parts. Part I will point up comparisons among the 89 surveys and indicate some general conclusions. In Part II, each survey is discussed as to sponsoring body, events leading to the survey, staff and procedure, financial support, scope of report, recommendations, action following recommendations, general comment, and sources of further information.

3. An illustrated popular pamphlet will set forth in laymen's language descriptions of metropolitan problems and their importance to individual citizens, with information on approaches to solutions. Distribution of the popular pamphlet will be coordinated with issuance of a handbook on local studies.

4. As a "follow-up" for the popular pamphlet on metropolitan problems, the handbook will contain "how to" information on initiating, organizing, and conducting local studies

so that they will have a good chance of producing sound and effective results. It will be semipopular in style. Both this handbook and the popular pamphlet will be published by the summer of 1956.

5. A revision of the only two "general works" on government in metropolitan areas is under way. It will take the form of a new book, authored by Victor Jones, and will bring up-to-date the information contained in the two older works and also evaluate experience of the past fifty years. The National Municipal League is cooperating with Government Affairs Foundation in this undertaking. (The two works being revised are: *Metropolitan Government* (1942) by Victor Jones, and *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States* (1930) by Paul Studenski and the National Municipal League's Committee on Metropolitan Government. They have both been out of print for some years.)

In the preparation of these publications, the following persons have participated to date, either as members of the staff of the foundation or as principal consultants: Victor Jones, Daniel R. Grant, Homer E. Dowdy, William N. Cassella, Rosalind G. Baldwin, Marilyn Gittell, and Edgar Rosenthal. Many others, of special competence on the subjects involved, have assisted in the work. Further information on the research work and publications of the Government Affairs Foundation may be obtained from Miss Rosalind G. Baldwin, Director of Projects, Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

### Possible Functional Consolidation: City and County of Los Angeles

Functional consolidation of the City and County of Los Angeles is now being considered, from a number of points of view, by the Los Angeles City-County Local Government Consolidation Study Commission, a citizen's group. Major goals of such consolidation would be to effect economies, improve efficiency and service to taxpayers in matters of joint interest, and facilitate intergovernmental relations in the fields of street lighting maintenance assessments, recreation and parks, civil service recruitment and examining, central

printing and duplicating services, central police records, public defender systems, and the conduct of elections.

Research reports have already been submitted to the commission on street lighting maintenance assessments and the public defender systems. Both documents analyze and appraise existing city and county systems and procedures—with a historical review where appropriate—and explore the pros and cons of consolidation. In each case, consolidation is recommended. Other research reports in progress deal with central policy records, civil service, and recreation and parks.

Research staff for the commission has included Andrew Castellano, Bernard Gordon, Marshall Julian, Bradford Nuremberg, and Orbun Powell. Further information on the commission and the research studies can be secured from Mr. Gordon at the commission's offices, Room 115 LaBarca Building, 234 North Main Street, Los Angeles 12, California.

#### **Social Science Theory of Organization**

Under a grant from the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior a project on the social science theory of organization at the Yale Labor and Management Center is attempting to integrate the relevant research from personality, clinical, and social psychology, sociology, anthropology, public administration, political science, scientific management, business administration, and personnel administration into a systematic framework in order to understand the basic causes of human behavior in "on-going" organizations. The integration is to be achieved by the use of a systematic framework.

The study has begun with an examination of a wide range of research literature bearing on both the nature and the needs of human personality and those of formal organization. One tentative assumption adopted is that the needs of individuals and the demands of formal organization are substantially antagonistic. Exploration is under way of the informal behavior by which employees adjust to formal organization—by informal rate-setting, apathy, etc., and the manner in which the administrator reacts to eliminate this informal be-

havior—by pressure-oriented leadership, management controls, etc. The research suggests that these reactions may tend to reinforce employees' informal behavior instead of eliminating it.

After summarizing the findings in terms of propositions of a social science theory of organization, concrete action proposals for the administrator are being derived and presented, under such general headings as executive leadership, job enlargement, and diagnosing human problems in organizations.

Professor Chris Argyris of the Labor and Management Center at Yale University is the principal investigator.

#### **Administrative Survey, Philadelphia Department of Licenses and Inspections**

The purpose of this project is to make a comprehensive study of the organization and procedures of the Philadelphia Department of Licenses and Inspections. This department was established in 1952 under the provisions of the city's 1951 home rule charter. The intent of the framers of the charter was to bring together under one department all of the city's license issuance agencies, and most, if not all, of the city's inspection functions.

While the charter provided for the department, it did not specify its internal organization. Accordingly, the city administration which took office in 1952 had to make decisions not only on the procedures for the new agency but on the details of its structure.

At the request of the city administration, the Bureau of Municipal Research—Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division) is seeking to find out if the decisions thus made have produced the most effective performance possible. The report will include a detailed fact-finding description of the department's organization and procedures and a set of conclusions and recommendations.

Principal investigators in this project, which will be completed around March 1, 1956, are William H. Ludlow, research associate; Wilbur C. Webb, research associate; Alfred A. Dybiec, research assistant; and Leigh B. Hebb, research associate.

Further information may be obtained from



Lennox L. Moak, director, Bureau of Municipal Research and Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division), 1321 Arch Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

#### **Kansas Administrative Histories**

The Governmental Research Center of the University of Kansas has recently completed studies that are the fifth and sixth in a series of state administrative histories. It is hoped that eventually all the major administrative agencies of the state of Kansas will be chronicled.

A descriptive study of the Board of Health history covers the period from the agency's inception in 1885 to its most recent reorganization in 1952. Attention is given to the gradual adjustment by the board to growing demands for service in public health areas and to the way in which these changing demands have led to the assumption of new functions.

The study of the Department of Public Instruction traces the history of this state agency from 1861, when Kansas received statehood, to 1952. Emphasis is placed on the development of the organization and functions of the department and the administrative procedures followed in carrying out its functions. Attention is devoted to the changes and elaboration of functions as the public educational system has changed and become more complex. To some extent political factors which have influenced the department are also considered.

Both studies were conducted at the Government Research Center of the University of Kansas with Mrs. Harriet S. Pfister the principal investigator for the Board of Health and John L. Eberhardt for the Department of Public Instruction. Further information on the scope of this work and availability of published reports can be obtained from Clarence J. Hein, assistant director for research, Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

#### **State Supervision of Local Government Finance in Kansas**

A project at the Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, describes the present system of legis-

lative and administrative supervision over county and city finance in Kansas and gives attention to the way in which such supervision has developed. Known reasons for specific features of the present system are included. It is hoped that tentative hypotheses for further study will emerge from this primarily descriptive study.

Mrs. Marcene Grimes and Clarence J. Hein, assistant director for research of the Governmental Research Center, are the principal investigators. Mr. Hein may be contacted for further information.

#### **UN Administrative Committee on Coordination**

A recently completed study by Latheef N. Ahmed explores the manner in which the UN Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) has met the "unique challenge" of coordinating the work of the six UN organs, the ten specialized agencies, various emergency agencies, the regional organizations, and a number of other intergovernmental international organizations. The subject is treated under the headings: (1) ACC and the agency constitutions, (2) ACC and the relationship agreements, (3) ACC: its organization and techniques, (4) ACC: its activities, and (5) conclusions and proposals. Conclusions and suggestions are offered with regard to program coordination, budgetary coordination, charter revision, and national coordination.

Holding that success in international economic and social measures depends largely on coordination of the UN family of agencies and that this in turn requires the exercise of many parliamentary, administrative, and human relations techniques, the writer finds that the ACC has risen to this challenge since mid-1953. Looking to the future, it is suggested that within the existing legal framework of the UN there is ample basis for the Secretary General to undertake a further "vigorous" coordinating effort through a trio consisting of himself as chairman of ACC, the General Assembly Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, and the UN resident representatives in various areas.

The study also argues that the budgetary

process of the UN and the specialized agencies should be centered in the General Assembly as a means to better program and budgetary coordination. This, the author feels, would give the specialized agencies proper representation in the process and would recognize the responsibilities of the UN system to world citizenry. At the national level, he feels that coordination at some central point—by an agency akin the U. S. Bureau of the Budget—

is essential to better national-international coordination.

The author derived his materials from a period spent as a student intern assisting research in the UN-Specialized Agencies Coordination Section of the UN Secretariat, during the summer of 1952, and on further research while a graduate student at the University of Kansas. His present address is 1630 R Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

#### Royal Commission

If you're pestered by critics and hounded by faction  
To take some precipitate, positive action  
The proper procedure, to take my advice, is  
Appoint a Commission and stave off the crisis.  
By shelving the matter you daunt opposition  
And blunt its impatience by months of attrition,  
Replying meanwhile, with a shrug and a smile,  
"The matter's referred to a Royal Commission."

A Royal Commission is strictly impartial,  
The pros and the cons it will expertly marshal  
And one of its principal characteristics  
Is getting bogged down in a sea of statistics.  
So should you, perhaps, for inaction be chided  
An answer to all men is aptly provided;  
You simply explain, again and again,  
"The Royal Commission has not yet decided."

Let the terms of its reference lack proper precision  
That arguments lengthy may hold up decision,  
And then, while they fumble with fact and with figure,  
The conflict within the Commission grows bigger.  
And so, when at last its report is provided,  
If clamour for action has still not subsided,  
You say with a pout "The matter's in doubt.  
The Royal Commission is somewhat divided."

Thus, once a Commission its session commences,  
All you have to do is to sit on your fences  
No longer in danger of coming a cropper,  
For prejudging its findings is highly improper.  
When the subject's been held for so long in suspension  
That it ceases to call forth debate and dissension,  
Announce without fuss "There's no more to discuss.  
The Royal Commission's retired on a pension."

If delay quite indefinite be your endeavour,  
There's nothing to stop the thing sitting for ever,  
Till its members, worn out by their manifold rigours,  
Die off, one by one, like the ten little niggers.  
Though, shrouded with cobwebs, a sight for compunction,  
A few frail survivors may labour with unction,  
If someone asked why, they'd sadly reply,  
"The Royal Commission's forgotten its function."

—Geoffrey Parsons, *Punch*, August 24, 1955.

# Contemporary Topics

Compiled by Opal D. David,  
Public Administration Clearing House

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## Presidential Powers and Duties

The illness of President Eisenhower and the problems raised by the necessity for carrying on the national government during his convalescence have inevitably stimulated interest in two aspects of the presidential office which have concerned students and practitioners in the field of administration for many years.

One of these goes back to the ambiguous language of the Constitution with respect to the action to be taken in the event of the President's inability to discharge his duties. On this subject, two bills proposing clarifying amendments to the Constitution were introduced on the first day of the present session of Congress. H. J. Res. 442, proposed by Representative Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. (R) of New Jersey, outlines two possible methods for determining when a President is incapacitated: (1) an announcement by the President himself, or (2) a determination by the Supreme Court in response to a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress. In both cases, the Supreme Court would determine whether or when the President was able to resume his duties. The other proposed amendment, H. J. Res. 441, introduced by Representative Thomas J. Dodd (D) of Connecticut, provides for a special election to fill the term of a President who dies in office.

The House Judiciary Committee, to which both of these bills were referred, began a special study in this area in the fall of 1955. Questionnaires soliciting opinions and recommendations on the main points at issue were sent to leading political scientists and other students of the Presidency, and the responses to this inquiry are being summarized in a report to be issued by the committee. Arthur Krock, in the *New York Times* for January 3, 1956, discussed the statement submitted to the committee by C. Herman Pritchett, University of Chicago, which included one of the alterna-

tives later proposed by Representative Frelinghuysen—the plan for an official announcement to be made by the President himself.

The other aspect of the Presidency which has been receiving increased attention as a result of the Eisenhower illness is the extent to which the burdens of the office can be lightened through the delegation of authority to members of the Cabinet or to appointive officials in the President's immediate office. Perhaps the most drastic proposal along these lines is the one made by former President Herbert Hoover during a radio-television program on December 11 when he suggested that Congress create a new office of administrative vice president, to be selected by the President and assigned such duties as the Chief Executive wished to delegate.

Public Law 673, which was passed in 1950, gives broad authority to the President to delegate functions vested in him by law, and ever since its passage the Bureau of the Budget has been working with the departments and agencies to determine what delegations can be made. A number of Executive orders have been issued as a part of this program. More recently, the Office of the Attorney General has been making a study of administrative and legislative changes which can be made to relieve the President of unnecessary paper work and direct responsibility for approving routine procedural decisions. In the Senate, a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations is holding hearings on various proposals made by the second Hoover Commission for reducing the President's work load, and a number of bills embodying the recommendations of the commission are under consideration in both houses of Congress.

## New Restrictions on WOC's

The problems involved in government employment of so-called "without-compensation"

experts and consultants who are paid by their regular employers while working for the government continue to receive attention from Congress and from the executive branch of the federal establishment.

Congressional concern with this subject was evident during the debate, in the summer of 1955, regarding the extension of the Defense Production Act of 1950. At that time, language was written into the legislation in conference committee which prohibited WOC appointees from making any final policy decisions and required them to file with the *Federal Register* information covering their financial interests (see Autumn, 1955, *Review*, p. 300).

An Executive order issued by President Eisenhower on November 28, 1955, extends this prohibition to all experts and consultants employed under the Defense Production Act and strengthens the provisions controlling such appointments in various ways. Under the new order, the content of the required certification of the head of the employing department or agency respecting WOC appointees has been elaborated and its publication in the *Federal Register* is required. Certain exemptions from the conflict of interest laws which had previously applied to experts and consultants appointed under the Defense Production Act are also withdrawn.

The new order was drafted following a nine-month, governmentwide study conducted under the direction of the Attorney General. It is anticipated that additional regulations may be issued dealing with the numerous industry advisory groups used by the government, particularly the Business Advisory Committee of the Department of Commerce. The committee has recently been the subject of a series of congressional hearings held by the Anti-Trust Subcommittee of the House.

#### **Commission on Government Security Organized**

The twelve-member bipartisan Commission on Government Security which was established by joint resolution of Congress in July, 1955, held its first meeting on December 14 and elected as chairman Loyd Wright, a Los Angeles attorney and past president of the American Bar Association. Vice-chairman is Senator

John C. Stennis (D) of Mississippi, who was coauthor, with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D) of Minnesota, of the resolution setting up the commission.

The commission is instructed to study and investigate the entire government security program, including the various statutes, presidential orders, and administrative regulations and directives under which the government seeks to protect the national security, and to recommend such changes as it may determine are necessary or desirable. Its final report is due December 31, 1956. An earlier version of the resolution called for a final report by March 31, but this was changed in conference committee. Agreement on the later date means that the report of the commission on this politically explosive question cannot be used by either side in the coming presidential campaign. Whether or not this was the reason for changing the date, it is highly unlikely that any adequate report could have been completed by the earlier date in view of the fact that the membership of the commission was not announced until November, more than three months after passage of the joint resolution, presumably because of the necessity for completing full security checks on all proposed members.

Before Congress passed the resolution establishing the commission, President Eisenhower had indicated that he did not think such a body was necessary in view of other steps being taken by the administration to insure the fairness and effectiveness of the security program. However, there has been a good deal of public sentiment in favor of such a nonpartisan study, and Democrats in Congress, resentful of what they called the Republican "numbers game," pushed the bill through.

Under the language of the resolution, four members each were appointed by the President, the Vice President (in his capacity as President of the Senate), and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Out of each group of four, two were to be from private life, and no more than two could be from the same political party.

The commission members appointed by President Eisenhower were Louis S. Rothchild, Under Secretary of Commerce; Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense; Frank-



lin D. Murphy, Chancellor of the University of Kansas; and James P. McGranery, former Democratic Attorney General. Those named by Vice President Nixon were Senator John C. Stennis (D) of Mississippi; Senator Norris Cotton (R) of New Hampshire; Loyd Wright of Los Angeles; and Susan B. Riley, Professor of Education at George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee. Speaker Rayburn named Representative Francis E. Walters (D) of Pennsylvania, who introduced the resolution in the House; Representative William M. McCulloch (R) of Ohio; J. L. Noel, Houston attorney; and former Governor Edwin L. Mechem of New Mexico.

### **Merit System for Overseas**

Approximately 20,000 overseas federal civilian positions, held by United States citizens, will be brought into the competitive civil service on April 1, 1956. This is the second major extension of the competitive service approved by the U. S. Civil Service Commission within a year. The first action moved approximately 10,000 excepted jobs in Alaska into the competitive civil service last August.

Incumbents of these overseas positions will be eligible for conversion to career or career-conditional status if they can meet competitive standards, have had at least six months of satisfactory federal service immediately prior to the date of conversion, and are recommended for conversion by their agency. Future appointments to any of these positions will ordinarily be made through the regular competitive examining process.

Jobs affected by the commission's move are located in a number of foreign countries and in Pacific Island possessions. The first group includes Bermuda, Canada, Iceland, England, France, Germany, Italy, Azores, Spain, Morocco, Libya, Turkey, Korea, Japan, the Ryukyus, and the Philippines. In the second are American Samoa, Johnson Island, Kwajalein, Midway Island, Wake Island, Guam, and Saipan. All are Department of Defense positions.

The commission is consulting with other agencies having excepted jobs overseas to determine how many additional positions held by United States citizens can be brought into the competitive system.

### **New Municipal Code for Philadelphia**

One of the last actions of the city council of Philadelphia in 1955 was to approve a new municipal code which had been in preparation for several months. This action was taken following a series of public hearings held to give local citizens an opportunity to ask for retention of or modification of ordinance provisions marked for discard or revision.

The codification and revision of the existing ordinances were done by the city solicitor's staff, with assistance from faculty members of the law schools at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University, both of which are located in Philadelphia.

As is usually the case when a review of this kind is undertaken, large numbers of outmoded ordinances were discovered which could be discarded entirely. Some of the laws that were in effect dated back to 1854 and had long gone unenforced because the conditions they were intended to regulate no longer existed in a way that caused a public problem, such as, for example, the ordinance forbidding the driving of geese in the streets.

The staff in charge of the new codification anticipated that more than 800 inactive ordinances could be discarded and that the old laws which took up 101 volumes could be weeded out and rewritten so that they could be contained in two volumes. A detailed index, which will be kept up to date, will also facilitate use of the new code. The old collection of ordinances had no index so that it was extremely difficult to look up the law on any given subject.

### **Hatch Act Amendment Proposed**

Legislation is under consideration by the present session of Congress which would free certain state and local government employees from provisions of the Hatch Act which have applied to them since 1939. This act, officially entitled "An act to prevent pernicious political activities," defines the various types of political activity which are prohibited for federal civil service employees. In 1939 the provisions of the act were extended, through an amendment, to officers and employees of "any State or local agency whose principal employment is in connection with any activity which

is financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United States or by any Federal agency." H.R. 3084, introduced by Representative Omar Burleson (D.) of Texas, would repeal this section.

The committee report recommending passage of the bill noted that while at the time of its enactment there may well have been a need for legislation of this type, that need has since ceased to exist. Most states now have laws which restrict the types of political activity in which their employees may engage and these are considered adequate for the protection of the federal government's interest in assuring nonpolitical administration of programs in which it has a financial stake.

Also, during the period since the enactment of this section in 1939, there has been a great increase in the number and variety of programs carried on by the states to which the federal government contributes and a corollary increase in the number of state employees covered by the law. This has created extremely complex administrative and enforcement problems for the Civil Service Commission, the agency responsible for administration of the Hatch Act, since it has been practically impossible to keep the thousands of nonfederal employees to whom the section now applies informed of the restrictions which the act imposes on them.

#### Use of Facsimile Signatures

President Eisenhower's illness and the subsequent attempts to lighten the burdens of office for him have focused attention on one of the more needless and time-consuming demands made not only upon him but upon many public officials, that of signing their names to large numbers of official documents.

Three states—Louisiana, Oregon, and Texas—have taken steps to free their officials from part of this load by passing laws allowing the use of facsimile signatures or seals to execute public securities. Louisiana, in 1954, became the first state to adopt such a law. Oregon and Texas took action during the legislative sessions of 1955.

The Oregon law provides that when authorized by the governing body, facsimile signatures may be used by public officers on

checks, warrants, or other instruments. The law applies to counties, cities, districts organized for public purposes, or any other public corporation or political subdivision.

The Texas law provides that one signature must be written by hand but that otherwise facsimile signatures may be used on "bonds, notes, or other obligations for the payment of money. . . ." The law states that all public securities "may be executed with an engraved, imprinted, lithographed, or otherwise reproduced facsimile of any signature required or permitted," provided the board or person who authorizes the issuance of such securities gives approval of the use of facsimile signatures.

The Municipal Finance Officers Association has been concerned with this problem for some time and at its annual meeting in 1954 it adopted a resolution approving the use of facsimiles of signatures or seals on bond issues of \$10 million or more. In support of this action the association pointed out that, especially since World War II, the number of bond issues and the amounts of money they cover have grown so much that requirements for in-person signatures can mean that officials must interrupt their regular work for days while they travel to the city where the settlement takes place and sign their names hundreds and thousands of times.

The American Municipal Association has also interested itself in this problem and has cooperated with the American Bar Association in drafting a model ordinance governing the use of facsimile signatures by municipal officials.

#### Housing and Redevelopment Directory

A total of 1,087 municipal and county housing and redevelopment agencies are now operating in the United States, the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials reports on the basis of a survey for its special directory.

The 1,087 agencies, responsible for public housing and redevelopment-renewal programs in communities throughout the country, are listed in the 1955-1956 edition of the *Housing and Redevelopment Directory* which was compiled from questionnaires sent out last spring.

Of the total listings for the United States,

628 are local agencies that have one or all of the following powers to undertake redevelopment-renewal programs: power to condemn blighted areas for resale to private developers, power to encourage rehabilitation of rundown areas, or power to aid the conservation of adequate neighborhoods that are threatened by blight. Of these 628 agencies, 141 have redevelopment projects under way. The directory also shows that 43 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam have laws that authorize operation of local public housing programs. In three of the states there are no active authorities.

Thirty-six states and Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands have laws permitting communities to undertake redevelopment or renewal programs, although three of the states do not as yet have agencies set up to carry out the programs.

There are 1,275 listings in the directory. In addition to local agencies, the directory lists 27 agencies of the federal government with primary interests in housing and redevelopment or departments of agencies that have related functions; 16 agencies in twelve states responsible for state housing and redevelopment-renewal matters; 5 departments of two international agencies concerned with housing; 29 local Canadian housing authorities; and 111 citizens groups that promote better housing and redevelopment on national, international, state, or local levels.

Increased emphasis on slum prevention and neighborhood conservation as one way of helping to solve the nation's housing problems is reflected in the fact that there are currently at least 70 specialized agencies in the United States that are responsible for housing improvement programs.

The association explains that the 70 agencies listed in the directory are those giving major attention to slum prevention through housing code enforcement on an area basis or through neighborhood conservation programs. Among them are four state agencies—one in Iowa, one in New Jersey, and two in California; two county health departments in California—Monterey and San Mateo counties; and 64 agencies in 50 cities.

### Census of Governments Scheduled

The U.S. Bureau of the Census is making plans for a federal census of governments in 1957. If taken, the census will be the first since 1942, and will supply badly needed facts about state and local government finances and operations.

This census, which originated in Civil War times, has been taken early in each decade since, until 1942. A similar census was authorized in 1952 but the budget recommendation of \$2,250,000 was not approved by Congress. The census as now planned for 1957 will deal with statistics covering public expenditures, debt, employment, taxes, and tax valuations in state and local governments.

### Rural Slum Clearance Program Ended

The nation's only direct rural slum clearance program came to a halt at the end of 1955 with a record of 515 shacks destroyed and 500 farm families owners of new homes.

The homes were obtained under the United States Housing Act of 1937, passed at a time when 60 per cent of all farm families were living in houses classified as slum dwellings. Although the housing act applied to farm as well as city, it was geared to urban housing, and it took three years to develop a rural plan.

By 1940, 65 county or regional authorities had been created in several states with the power to own and operate rural housing projects. Eventually more than 400 such authorities were formed. To aid these local groups, the United States Housing Authority launched a pilot program to build from 150 to 300 one-family houses in each of five farm states, under an arrangement especially designed to meet the needs of rural life.

The authority required a farmer desiring a home erected on his property to deed it an acre of land so that the new home would be assured of sufficient space for poultry yard and garden. Only low-income families in substandard dwellings were allowed to apply. At first only farm owners were accepted, but later tenant farmers were included.

Design and construction contracts followed a project plan. Although the homes might be scattered through an entire county, no contract was let until enough tenants had been selected

to assure "project" status. For financing, the land donated by the farmer met the 10 per cent local requirement, and the remainder came from direct federal loans. The homes were neat frame or brick buildings rented to the farmers on the basis of cash income plus the value of farm-furnished food and fuel. Average rental was \$5.00 a month. The farmer agreed to tear down his slum dwelling and maintain the new one, and he always had an option to buy.

With the pilot program under way, the rural movement grew and applications increased until the USHA had agreements with 61 authorities to build 8,381 farm homes, but World War II stopped that. In 1942 the War Production Board ordered deferment of the program, and it was never resumed. When the Public Housing Administrator decided in 1954 to step out of the program, only 40 of the "pilot farmers" had exercised the purchase option. PHA offered the others liberal terms, holding 20-year mortgages at 4.5 per cent interest and accepting down payments as low as \$100, with the result that more than 400 additional homes were sold in a few months.

Through 1952, the government paid a total of about \$1.5 million for the project, or about \$3,000 a unit. Various other programs ranging from one financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1932 to the 1950 Housing Act have also made some provision for rural slum clearance.

#### **Coordination by Calendar**

A special calendar that marks dates of special significance to the work of the city government is being used in Monrovia, California, to remind department heads and other city officials of important "due dates" for which they have particular responsibility in the overall schedule of the city's operations. According to the International City Managers' Association, which reports this item, the calendar was established to help keep the heads of the various city departments aware of other departmental deadlines that might affect their work. For instance, the fact that the council adopts the budget the first week in July is noted on the calendar and constitutes a reminder to the city manager of the date when

he must finish his work in coordinating requests for funds. The same notation reminds the city attorney that he must have certain ordinances and resolutions ready for council consideration. The city clerk is reminded by another notation that he has a deadline to meet for giving notice to the county about the city's proposed tax rate.

Additional directives and detailed instructions are, of course, issued as required, but the calendar serves as a handy quick reference and a source of general information.

#### **Combined Police and Fire-Fighting Programs**

Policemen and firemen in Glencoe, Illinois, have recently completed a voluntary 21-month training program in combined public safety duties to prepare them for service in the new unified system which the community has adopted.

During the training period, the men either were paid for off-duty time spent in class or were given compensatory time off. Firemen studied criminal law, interrogation, patrol work, evidence, methods of arrest, etc., and police studied fire-fighting techniques and maintenance of equipment. Instructors for the 20-hour classroom study were Glencoe and Chicago area police and fire experts. Training materials published by the Ohio State University were used.

To put the program into effect, Glencoe has purchased three station-wagon patrol cars, designed to carry about thirty-five pieces of police and fire-fighting equipment. A station wagon responds to all fire calls and frequently the blaze has been brought under control before the pumper truck arrives. Firemen trained in police work do not go on police patrols, but handle such station work as fingerprinting, record keeping, and parking meter repairs.

As a result of integrating its police and fire duties the village is getting faster action on emergency calls, greater patrol coverage, more trained men on duty during vacation periods, and higher levels of skill and morale in the service generally.

The combined plan is being tried in a number of other communities throughout the United States, including Sunnyvale, Califor-



nia; Buena Park, California; Oak Park, Michigan; and North Augusta, South Carolina. Fort Lauderdale, Florida, has adopted a budget providing for the hiring of "public safety officers" to man a combined system.

The chief advantages of unification are described in a 1955 publication of Public Administration Service, *Police and Fire Integration in the Small City*, by Charles S. James. One of the main points made is that merging police and fire work can promote efficiency by keeping men fully productive on the job while reducing the number of actual duty hours a week.

### Residence Requirements Reviewed

Two large cities in the United States have been reviewing the effects and enforcement of local laws requiring their public employees to live inside the city limits.

In Chicago, the police commissioner ordered a survey to find out whether members of his force are violating the city code and police department rules requiring city residence. Each policeman was asked to submit a report listing his home address, the address of his family, and the address to which his city vehicle license and his driver's license are issued. He was also asked to report whether he is registered to vote at the address claimed and whether he gets city utility services there.

Police face dismissal if it is found that they do not live in Chicago, but the commissioner has said that he will allow a nonresident time to move into the city before bringing charges. The fact that the city code permits Chicago school teachers to live outside the city has been cited by policemen who contend that they should have the same option of living in the suburbs.

Newark, New Jersey, tabulated results when all city employees answered a questionnaire on which one item asked for a bona fide residence address. The results showed that one out of every eleven made their homes outside Newark, thus violating a municipal ordinance requiring a bona fide city residence in Newark as a condition of employment. Department heads are authorized to grant permission to live outside the city for special reasons, such as health, but the city administration found

that only a few of the more than 550 local employees reporting nonresidence had ever been given such permission.

While considering a new residence policy, Newark sought to find out what other cities of similar size were doing about the matter. The following four cities reported that they are now enforcing residence requirements: Rochester and Buffalo, New York; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

### Metropolitan Areas Study

Through the efforts of the American Political Science Association, the Stern Family Fund has recently made a grant of \$220,000 jointly to the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C. and the Institute of Public Administration in New York City, for a three-year study of government in metropolitan areas. Luther Gulick will be director for the study and Robert H. Connery of Duke University will be associate director. The association has named an advisory committee consisting of the following: Harold Alderfer, Pennsylvania State University; Louis Brownlow, former director, Public Administration Clearing House; Victor Jones, University of California; Coleman Woodbury; John Rohrer, Tulane University; Norton Long, Michigan State University; and A. M. Hillhouse, Cornell University.

### Transportation Center at Northwestern

A national center has been established at Northwestern University to carry on a broad program of education and research into all areas of the transportation industry. The center plans to emphasize the economic and political implications of transportation, with special attention to long-range problems of national transport policy involving more than one type of carrier.

The center has been located at Northwestern because of its strategic position at the crossroads of many of the nation's most important transportation routes. Its program will include research; consultative services; a research library; specially planned academic courses—both graduate and undergraduate—in liberal arts, commerce, engineering, and law; and in-service training programs for in-

dustry and government personnel. The program ultimately envisions a staff, including teachers and researchers, of over forty, and an annual budget of about \$1.5 million.

The center is directed by Franklin M. Kreml, who is on leave from the directorship of the Northwestern University Traffic Institute. An Advisory Committee, composed of leading transport executives from the several segments of the industry, has been formed under the chairmanship of Fred G. Gurley, president, Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. This committee is now engaged in raising an organizing fund of \$250,000 for the center from the transportation industry.

The research program will get under way early in 1956. The education program will start in September, 1956. Further information about the center may be obtained by writing E. T. Haele, assistant to the director, The Transportation Center at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

#### UN Expanded TA Program for 1956

The Technical Assistance Board has presented to the relevant standing committee of the Economic and Social Council the proposals for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1956. Projects in public administration are included for more than thirty states and territories—a wider sweep than in any of the previous five years of the Expanded Programme. Measured in man-months of expert services provided, projects increased from 92 in 1951, to 195 in 1952, 479 in 1953, and 578 in 1954.

The increase in public administration proposals for 1956 is particularly noteworthy because this is the first year in which the proposals are based upon "country programs." Heretofore, complicated formulas governed the allotment of funds among the cooperating agencies—United Nations, UNESCO, World Health Organization, International Labour Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, and International Civil Aviation Organization. Each UN Agency developed its proposals in consultations with the relevant ministry of the country, but there was extremely inadequate machinery to test whether the technical aid to each country was to meet a

"real but more or less isolated need," or be attuned to the highest priority needs of the country. Now it is the government of the receiving country that has the dominant voice in determining what types of technical help it needs most.

The total program of the Technical Assistance Board—the coordinating organ of the cooperating UN Agencies—supports the statement to the General Assembly by H. L. Keenleyside, director general of the Technical Assistance Administration of the UN, that there is now general recognition by governments that "effective economic development and effective progress in social affairs could only be securely based on good administration."

In the debate on the Director General's report, the delegate of the Netherlands asked other countries to be prepared to consider increased appropriations for public administration in 1957. He was supported by delegates from Brazil and Uruguay.

#### Technical Assistance and Public Administration

A variety of proposals that involve advice or training in administrative services, as distinct from scientific or technical activities, are included in the country programs approved by the UN Technical Assistance Board in its program for 1956.

Some of the requests are addressed to a Specialized Agency of the UN: to WHO for an adviser on public health administration (Afghanistan, British West Indies, Cambodia, Paraguay), a fellowship in the administration of water systems (Bolivia), an expert on hospital administration (Egypt, Japan, Malaya, Turkey). FAO is asked to provide a fellowship in the administration of agricultural institutions and services (Chile); ILO, an expert or a fellowship in labor administration (Mexico, Honduras, Taiwan) or social security administration (Iraq); ICAO, an expert on the organization of civil aviation service (Greece); UNESCO, experts on educational administration (Libya, Nicaragua, Yugoslavia).

The requests made to the Technical Assistance Administration of the UN cover a wide range of needs within the general field of administration. One country asks for experts on

civil service, classification, organization and methods, general administrative organization—a balanced team to deal with over-all problems of the public service—and at the same time, seeks an expert on customs administration (Colombia). Other special administrative problems listed are port administration (Costa Rica), resources development (Cyprus), government stores (Ceylon), postal communications (Iraq, Israel, Syria, Uruguay), and railway administration (Iraq).

Many countries seek help on fiscal administration: government accounting and auditing (Guatemala, Ecuador), public finance administration (Haiti, Israel, Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, Yugoslavia), taxation (Indonesia, Sudan), budgeting (Israel).

Planning is another phase of general administration for which help is asked: general planning for development (Brazil, Indonesia, Jordan, Korea, Philippines), general economic surveys (Gambia, Libya, Mexico, Pakistan).

A few countries ask for help on problems of municipal or local administration (Iraq, Israel, Pakistan, Yugoslavia); others ask specifically for help on urban planning (Burma, Chile, El Salvador, Jordan, Pakistan, Tanganyika, Turkey).

The new principle of "country programming" leads chiefly to requests for experts on mission or for fellowships for study outside the country by its nationals. The third important tool of technical assistance, the training seminar or institute, can seldom be used economically in any one country, unless it is a large one. These schemes must usually be set up for a group of countries with common problems.

A modest percentage of the Expanded Fund is reserved for regional projects, of which some significant ones are in administration. Notable are the on-going Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America, the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, and the School of Public Administration at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Others in the 1956 Programme are a conference of health administrators in South East Asia (WHO), a training center for fisheries administration in Asia (FAO), and joint aid to Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia on training for general economic planning and on community development.

### Trilingual Dictionary of Administration

*Progress in Public Administration*, the bulletin reporting on technical cooperation developments around the world which is published by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, is undertaking to promote international understanding in the field of public administration by publishing in each issue tentative definitions of a few words currently in use as written in English, French, and Spanish, with brief analytical notes pointing out possible problems in interpretation which may result from the different educational and cultural backgrounds of the persons who hear or use the words. The issue of the bulletin for August, 1955, includes definitions and comment on the use of the words "organization" and "administration." The next issue deals with the words "management" and "decentralization." Readers are invited to comment on the definitions offered and suggest additional terms for inclusion in the glossary.

### Haldane Award Essay

The Autumn, 1955, issue of *Public Administration*, the journal of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, contains the essay by H. L. Keenleyside, Director General of the UN Technical Assistance Administration, which won him the Silver Medal and first prize in the Haldane Essay Competition for 1954. Subject of the paper is "Administrative Problems of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration." It describes the development of the technical assistance program of the United Nations from its early beginnings in 1945 through the major reorganization which took place in 1952, and includes sections on administrative conditions in underdeveloped countries and on some of the particular problems which arise in TAA from its special duties and responsibilities.

### Tenth Congress of Administrative Sciences, 1956

The Tenth Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences will be held in Madrid, Spain, from September 3-8, 1956. These dates have been chosen to avoid

conflict with the Congress of Comparative Law to be held in Barcelona, Spain, from September 10-17 and the Public Finance Congress taking place in Rome from September 13-15. The major subjects on the agenda of the Congress are: (1) "Contracts of Public Authorities for the Carrying Out of Works," (2) "Present Tendencies in the Post-Entry Training of Higher-Grade Civil Servants," and (3) "A Study of Procedures for the Preparation and Implementation of Administrative Reforms."

The Congress will be held at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas. Sessions will be conducted in English, French, and, probably, Spanish. A one-day excursion is being arranged for participants on Sunday, September 2, prior to the opening of the Congress and various social events will take place during the Congress.

Several hundred officials and scholars from numerous international organizations and from countries throughout the world will attend. Further information can be obtained from Herbert Emmerich, chairman, U. S. Section, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The U. S. Section of the IIAS is a standing committee of ASPA. ASPA members, particularly those interested in international or comparative administration, are cordially invited to join the section.

#### **Inter-American Congress of Municipalities**

The Sixth Congress of the Inter-American Municipal Organization will convene on August 15, 1956, in Panama City, Panama. Further details can be secured from the American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, or from Dr. Carlos M. Moran, Secretary General, Inter-American Municipal Organization, Obispo 351, Havana, Cuba.

#### **IFHTP 1956 Congress**

"The City and Its Surroundings" will be the theme of the 23d International Congress for Housing and Town Planning to be held in Vienna July 22-28, 1956.

Professor Franz Schuster of Austria and Lewis Mumford are to give introductory papers at the first plenary session. A number of

reports will be printed and circulated before the congress convenes. After committee sessions, reports and recommendations will be presented to the delegates for possible adoption. Exhibits, study tours, and an international film festival, in which a prize is to be given for the best planning or housing film, will be featured during the meeting.

Registrations should be made with Headquarters, International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, Laan Copes van Cattenburch 123, The Hague, Netherlands.

#### **Brookings Institution Anniversary**

The Brookings Institution is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of its earliest predecessor unit, the Institute for Government Research, which was established on March 10, 1916.

The institute, which was merged with the later-organized Institute of Economics to form the Brookings Institution in 1927, has figured importantly in a number of major developments extending the theory and practice of public administration.

W. F. Willoughby, the first director of the institute, as well as various members of his staff, were deeply involved in the passage and early administration of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. In a similar way, Lewis Meriam participated in the legislative formulation and early administration of the Classification Act of 1923. Meriam's *The Problem of Indian Administration*, published in 1928, has become a classic in the field.

A short history and appraisal of the work of the institute which is being published in connection with a special anniversary program brings together the story of these and many other contributions by this group to government organization and administration at local, state, and national levels. Some forty-eight books were produced by the institute between 1917 and 1942, in addition to sixty-six monographs descriptive of units of the federal government.

In 1942, the Institutes of Economics and Government Research ceased to exist as separate divisions within the Brookings Institution, but research in both areas has continued. On July 1, 1955, Paul T. David became the institution's director of governmental studies.



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## **ANTHROPOLOGY IN ADMINISTRATION**

By H. G. BARNETT, *Professor of Anthropology, University of Oregon. Former Staff Anthropologist, (U.S.) Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.*

Anthropology as it has been applied to problems arising in connection with the administration of non-self-governing peoples. This includes a review of previous uses of anthropology in various colonial administrations and a detailed presentation of the unusual plan put into effect in the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1951.

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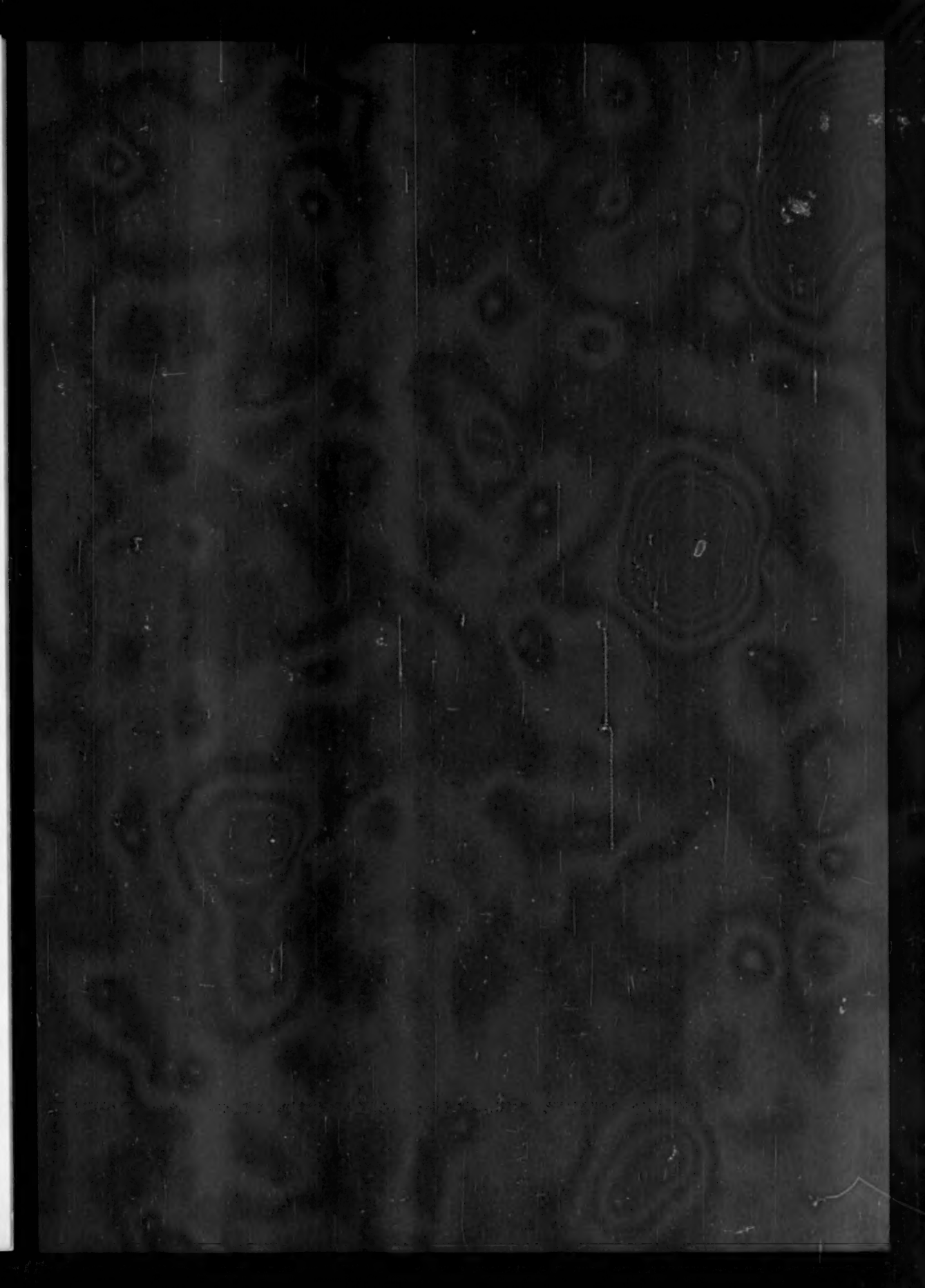
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